Upsala College
Library
East Orange, N.J.

THE Nation

June 12, 1954
20¢

Does the G. O. P. Rule the Air?

The Ted Lamb Case

by Edgar Kemler

Malayan Lessons

1. France's Lost Cause

by Victor Purcell

Nine Men Speak to You

by Fredric Wertham

EVERY WEEK SINCE 1865

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

Letters

A Puzzled Britisher Looks at America

Dear Sirs: I doubt if Americans realize the full degree of working-class resentment at United States foreign policy which has developed in Great Britain during the last few months. We have long passed the stage of fastening on McCarthy as the evil genius of American politics. Much more significant to us are a President who does not lead and a Secretary of State who alternately bludgeons and bribes allies into being the instruments of a stupid anti-communism, more likely to stumble into an atomic war than to destroy communism. What we in Britain are wondering about is the reaction of the American man in the street, particularly the workingman.

You may be similarly puzzled about us here, especially about the controversy now going on in the British Labor Party. I hope you do not take this as merely a matter of clashing personalities. Kingsley Martin clears this up in the current issue of the *New Statesman and Nation.* Aneurin Bevan is a colorful personality who is a convenient whipping boy for the right wing of the party, . . . but he has the Celtic intuition to know what is in the mind of the ordinary worker. It is this which gives him significance at present. I am not a Bevanite . . . but I must say, from a fairly extensive knowledge of the labor movement, that I believe his view of international affairs much closer to that of the average organized worker than is the view of the official Labor Party leaders.

There is some mischievous talk about "anti-Americanism" in Britain. In the sense of hostility to the people of the United States or a deprecation of their many great contributions to human progress, I have come across little or none. . . . Our alarm is at the extent to which the policy of the United States government seems to be under the influence of reactionaries like Knowland and McCarthy. It is the implication of this situation for international understanding which shocks us most deeply. The silence of Eisenhower and the irresponsible utterances of Dulles, Nixon, Knowland, and others make us despair of the broad-minded constructive United States we had associated with Franklin Delano Roosevelt and George Marshall. What hopes we had entertained from Adlai Stevenson's more rational outlook were shattered when he returned from his Far Eastern tour as obstinately unwilling to face the facts in China as he was before he went.

At the darkest moment Churchill's capacity for initiative led him to make his famous appeal for a high-level meeting of the great powers. The United States' fumbling hesitation delayed and limited the response, but eventually the Berlin conference was held and the Geneva conference was made possible. As I write, Washington's policy, alternately bellicose and grudgingly rational, threatens the little improvement which had been obtained.

About Indo-China, British opinion is even more solid than about the recognition of China, strong as that is. Having given India, Pakistan, Ceylon, and Burma their complete freedom, we have not the slightest sympathy with the French attempt to keep any hold on the peoples of Indo-China, nor are we surprised that Ho Chi-minh after years of being double-crossed by the French government, looks to China for help. Bao Dai is as much France's puppet as Wilhelm Pieck in East Germany is Russia's. We simply do not understand how the United States government can condemn the Russians and Chinese for "aggression" when it gratuitously intervenes in Southeast Asia on the side of an imperialist power seeking to maintain domination over an alien people.

What would give us in Britain comfort would be to know whether our hopes and fears are shared by our opposite numbers across the Atlantic. Is the ordinary man hypnotized by McCarthy into an unthinking anti-communism that may be only another name for approval of fascist demagoguery?

In Britain our chief religious leaders, with centuries of tradition and convention behind them to teach them discretion, have been the boldest to condemn the threat to civilization represented by the H-bomb and to urge an end to the slaughter in Indo-China. A few similar appeals for a more enlightened international policy have reached us from American church leaders, and various protests against McCarthyism have appeared in your press. How far are these views shared? We would be heartened to know more of what American trade unionists, liberal thinkers, churches, ethical societies, and humanists feel about their government's conduct of international affairs. That government holds tremendous power in its hands, more than any other at any time in history. It is primarily responsible to the people of the United States. It is, however, also morally responsible to humanity for the wise exercise of that great power.

J. HENRY GEORGE

Welwyn Garden City, England

Next Vice-President

Dear Sirs: Well, we won. North Carolina is sending a great Senator to Washington and quite likely the Vice-President of the next Democratic Administration. Kerr Scott is the first Southerner since Reconstruction who could conceivably carry the farm belt and the industrial areas of Detroit and Harlem. At the last minute, when the opposition issued anti-Negro pamphlets by the hundreds of thousands, Scott was urged to announce that he would vote for a resolution proposed by Senator Ellender to amend the Constitution to make segregation the law of the land. Scott said, "I'll be damned if I'll be a party to a fake of that kind." The people for Senator Lennon hired dozens of Negro boys, gave them red-and-white sashes carrying the legend "We want Scott," and stationed them at the polls. We won anyway.

This is the first time a Southern candidate whose only press support came from *The Nation,* the *New Republic,* and the *Carolina Israelite* has come out on top.

HARRY GOLDEN

Raleigh, N. C.

Justice for Puerto Ricans

Dear Sirs: A Committee for Justice to Puerto Ricans was recently established when it appeared that many of the nearly 100 Puerto Ricans rounded up for appearance before the grand jury in New York after the shooting of several Congressmen in Washington on March 1 were unable to secure legal counsel and that their immediate family or associates could not by themselves supply adequate funds for such purpose. Among the sponsors of the committee are Waldo Frank, Norman Mailer, Royal W. France, the Reverend John Paul Jones, Milton Mayer, and the undersigned. The treasurer is Julius Eichel, and the address is Room 201, 271 West 125th Street, New York 27, New York.

The committee deplores the Washington incident, and its statement of purpose makes it clear that persons who join or support it make no commitment to the Nationalist Party of Puerto Rico or other political parties or programs.

New York A. J. MUSTE

The Liberal "Mania"

Dear Sirs: Those who are acquainted with the problems of modern society will readily agree that Dr. Fredric Wertham is one of the leaders in this field. Ward Moore is less noted for comparable efforts, and after reading his review [*The Nation,* May 15] of Dr. Wertham's book, "Seduction of the Innocent," it isn't any wonder. Mr. Moore, true to his "libertarian" principles, makes the same blun-

(Continued on inside back cover)

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

Volume 178, Number 24
New York, Saturday, June 12, 1954

THE Nation
EVERY WEEK SINCE 1865

EDITORIALS

The Gray Report . by Carey McWilliams

THE special Personnel Security Board of the Atomic Energy Commission, which has just issued its report in the case of Dr. J. Robert Oppenheimer—a document already known as the Gray Report—is perfectly correct in stating that its handling of this case puts the entire security system on trial "both as to procedures and as to substance." The report has been hailed as "a veritable model of fairness" (Roscoe Drummond in the New York *Herald Tribune,* June 4) and as "a masterly demonstration of the way in which a democratic government can 'search its own soul' and probe the relationships of an individual to that government . . . 'within the frameworks of the traditional and inviolable principles of American justice' " (New York *Times,* June 3). Apart from any personal views on the merits of the case, is it true that this report can be taken as a reassurance to the American people that such an inquiry can be conducted, to use the board's rather immodest appraisal of its own work, "in calmness, in fairness, in disregard of public clamor and private pressures, and with dignity"?

Defective as we believe the board's procedures to have been—a point to be dealt with later—its conclusions would still be indefensible if it had followed perfect procedures. After finding that Dr. Oppenheimer is "loyal," "discreet," a man who "loves his country" and to whom this country owes "a great debt of gratitude for loyal and magnificent service," the board then concludes that he is "lacking in candor," "susceptible to influence," and one who "exercises an arrogance of his own judgment"—not, be it noted, about policy matters but about "the loyalty and reliability of other citizens"! The finding that Dr. Oppenheimer is a loyal citizen and a discreet public official would seem to dispose of the twenty-four items of "derogatory information" which, with minor qualifications, the board had found to be true. Yet Findings I and II of the majority opinion, based on Dr. Oppenheimer's "continuing conduct and associations" and "susceptibility to influence," only have meaning when they are related to the derogatory items of information which the board had so elaborately and ceremoniously reviewed and then found were insufficient to support a finding of disloyalty. This paradoxical conclusion, however, is not at all surprising. The distinction between "loyalty" and "security" cases seems quite clear in theory but breaks down in practice. For what happens is that a loyalty board, after reading with bated breath the usual mass of fascinating gossip in the record, will nobly find that the "suspect" is a loyal citizen *but* that he is a bad security risk. Almost any item or combination of items of a derogatory character can be cited as justification for a finding of this kind. For, as Dr. Ward V. Evans points out in his perceptive dissent, "all people are somewhat of a security risk." The majority's statement that Dr. Oppenheimer had failed to prove to their satisfaction that he is "blameless in conduct, character or association" would be funny if it were not so tragic. Is there such a person in the land?

ON the key issue—Dr. Oppenheimer's attitude toward the H-bomb—the board attempted to test by the crudest administrative techniques issues which Anglo-American courts have long since acknowledged their incompetence to weigh. After finding that Dr. Oppenheimer's views about the H-bomb were based on honest convictions which other scientists also held, that he did not oppose the decision to build the bomb once it had been made, that he did not refuse to cooperate in the program, and that he did not lobby against the decision, the board nevertheless concludes that his conduct was "disturbing" since if he had "enthusiastically supported" the program it would have been pursued "with considerably more vigor, thus increasing the possibility of earlier success"! Where is the lie detector or oscillograph, let alone judge or jury, that can accurately measure degrees of enthusiasm? And just how lacking in enthusiasm can a scientist afford to be without running the risk of being tagged "subversive" or a security hazard? A great many years ago Anglo-American courts were forced to conclude that they could not "search the soul of an individual" (the board's phrase); inquisitions, not courts, specialize in such undertakings.

In this foolish talk about degrees of enthusiasm and

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

In This Issue

EDITORIALS

The Gray Report *by Carey McWilliams* 493

ARTICLES

The Week of Decision *by J. Alvarez del Vayo* 496

Nine Men Speak to You: Jim Crow in the North *by Fredric Wertham* 497

Lessons from Malaya: 1. France's Lost Cause *by Victor Purcell* 499

Asian Socialists: A Search for Peace *by Maung Maung* 502

The Lamb Case: Who Rules the Air? *by Edgar Kemler* 503

BOOKS

Lawrence: Target of Reaction *by Mary Freeman* 506

Climate Past and Present *by George Gamow* 506

A Study in Whitewash *by Keith Hutchison* 508

ART *by S. Lane Faison, Jr.* 509

THEATER *by Harold Clurman* 509

RECORDS *by B. H. Haggin* 511

CROSSWORD PUZZLE No. 571 *by Frank W. Lewis* 512

LETTERS opposite 493

Editorial Board

Freda Kirchwey — *Editor and Publisher*
Carey McWilliams — *Editorial Director*
Lillie Shultz — *Director, Nation Associates*
Victor H. Bernstein — *Managing Editor*
J. Alvarez del Vayo — *Foreign Editor*

Martin Solow — *Assistant to the Publisher*

Harold Clurman — *Theater*
B. H. Haggin — *Music*
Gladys Whiteside — *Copy Editor*
Caroline Whiting — *Assistant Literary Editor*
Mary Simon — *Advertising Manager*

Contributing Editors: Andrew Roth, Alexander Werth, Howard K. Smith, Carolus, Keith Hutchison, H. H .Wilson, W. Macmahon Ball, Maxwell Geismar, Bruce Catton.

The Nation, June 12, 1954. Volume 178, No. 24

The Nation, published weekly and copyright, 1954, in the U. S. A. by The Nation Associates, Inc., 333 Sixth Avenue, New York 14, N. Y. Entered as second-class matter, December 13, 1879, at the Post Office of New York, N. Y., under the act of March 3, 1879. Advertising and Circulation Representatives for Continental Europe: Publicitas.

Subscription Prices: Domestic—One year $7; Two years $12; Three years $17. Additional postage per year: Foreign and Canadian $1.

Change of Address: Three weeks' notice is required for change of address, which cannot be made without the old address as well as the new.

Information to Libraries: The Nation is indexed in Readers' Guide to Periodical Literature, Book Review Digest, Index to Labor Articles, Public Affairs Information Service, Dramatic Index.

governments that can search their own souls as well as "the soul of an individual," the majority members betray that they are unconscious victims of the hysteria of the times. With dead-pan seriousness they tell us that the government may have been justified in taking a "calculated risk" when the need for Dr. Oppenheimer's services was great, that is, in war time, but that now, since consultations with the A. E. C. took up only "two and one-half days" of his time in 1953, the risk need not be incurred. Does this mean that security risks are greater in peace time than when the nation is at war? In short we are asked to believe that Dr. Oppenheimer, having proved his loyalty and extraordinary competence in time of great national emergency, is now—in peace time—to be rated a "bad security risk" despite that record.

BUT the overtones of the majority's opinion are even more disquieting than its specific findings. In effect the board says that scientists should refrain from active concern with broad policy questions; they can only advise in the areas of their specialization. But who, then, is to pass on the moral implications of American policy? Surely not a panel of "religious" experts. The board seems to have forgotten that scientists, too, are a part of that vast jury—the citizens, the electorate—who decide such matters in a democracy. Not only are scientists told to mind their p's and q's but they are specifically warned that acceptance of policy decisions will not suffice: they must enthusiastically support these decisions. Of our scientists the board demands "a genuine conviction that this country cannot in the interest of security have less than the strongest possible offensive capability in a time of national danger." Does this mean, as Dr. Oppenheimer's counsel suggest, that a loyal scientist called to advise his government does so at his peril if he happens to believe in the wisdom of maintaining a balance between offensive and defensive weapons? The board's expressed "concern" over the "solidarity" of scientists and their "uncompromising" attitudes on certain issues suggests that its members are hostile to the very idea of an autonomous scientific community. And forgetting scientists for the moment, are all types of advisers to be regimented in the same manner? Implicit in the board's attitude is a distrust of the people's ability to measure security in terms of moral and political values or, stated another way, the board seems to imply that the people have no direct concern with their own security.

Yet from a security point of view, the Gray Report is an invitation to disaster. Surely the board must be aware that, as Dr. Alan T. Waterman of the National Science Foundation pointed out recently, the output of young scientists has dropped to about one-third of the 1950 output while the demand has tripled. But perhaps it was not aware that a recent survey of 104 younger American scientists rated as "outstanding" by their peers, which

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

Fortune conducted, found these younger scientists to be "deeply troubled" over the clumsy handling of the Oppenheimer case—and this before the board's decision. On the effect of the decision, listen to Dr. Howard A. Meyerhoff, executive director of the Scientific Manpower Commission: "I don't believe this will discourage potential young scientists from getting into science, but it will discourage scientists from going into government work, particularly into more responsible advisory positions."

THE procedures followed by the board were as clearly defective as its conclusions. If one examines the letter sent to Dr. Oppenheimer by K. D. Nichols, general manager of the A. E. C., which set the hearing in motion, one is completely at a loss to characterize the charges specified. The letter lists derogatory items as evidentiary matter but these cannot be accepted as a substitute for a clear statement of charges. Such a specification is of the very essence of due process; yet we venture to say that of a dozen lawyers no two would characterize these charges in the same manner. A comparison of the original "indictment" with the Gray Report will show, furthermore, that the board considered "charges" not set forth in the Nichols letter.

On the board's own statement, the F. B. I. reports—the so-called "file material"—were not available to Dr. Oppenheimer's counsel, and this material is said to be almost as voluminous as the record of the testimony. In addition counsel was denied access to information deemed vital to the defense, namely "documents and minutes concerning Dr. Oppenheimer's 1947 clearance and a variety of other material." Some of this material was eventually made available but—quoting counsel—"only in the course of cross-examination" and "when calculated to cause the maximum surprise and confusion and too late to assist us in the orderly presentation of our case." The basic procedural defect, however, relates to the unavailability of the mysterious "file material."

Our "Expendable" Scientists

The Soviet world not only may be catching up with us in the production of atomic power, but certainly is in the total numbers of trained personnel to operate and increase that power. . . . The United States now has about 300,000 scientists and 500,000 engineers. There is a current shortage of engineers of about 90,000. Estimates indicate that as many as 30,000 new engineers will be needed annually for mobilization readiness and to keep the national economy running at a high level.

The Soviet Union had in 1952, according to estimates by scientists, about 150,000 scientists and 400,000 engineers. Approximately 43,000 Russian engineers were graduated in 1953, more than twice the number in the U. S.—*From a speech in Boston on May 22 by Secretary of Commerce Weeks.*

No judge or jury would be permitted to peruse a mass of material bearing on the guilt of the defendant which was not made available to the defendant or his counsel. It is begging the question to reply that Dr. Oppenheimer was not charged with the commission of a crime. The man's entire career was at stake. The finding that his clearance cannot be restored will be binding on all government agencies, so that his services will be unavailable not merely to the A. E. C. but to other agencies as well and possibly to universities holding government contracts. If he had been charged with committing a nuisance on the Princeton campus he would have been entitled as a matter of right to safeguards which were denied to him in this proceeding. Yet we are asked to believe—worse yet, most of us apparently believe—that this kind of hearing before a "court" which has no constitutional sanction whatever constitutes a "veritable model" of due process.

THE board's handling of the Oppenheimer case reveals once again the basic misconceptions on which the present loyalty-security system is based. For example, we have misconceived the purpose and limitations of a security system. As the Federation of American Scientists points out, the function of such a system is simply to protect "a small area of vital national information." It cannot do more without "sapping our national strength and eventually destroying our traditions and practices as a free people." The present system violates the first principle of security in that it is all-inclusive. That it is all-inclusive indicates that we have confused loyalty, which cannot be coerced, with regimentation, which for limited periods can often easily be coerced.

The present security system flouts the spirit and the genius of American democracy. It places the burden of proving a negative issue on the "suspect" and reverses the principle of reasonable doubt. Guilt is premised on association and history is freely rewritten to pin a red tag on lawful organizations of former decades. What this system does is to raise a presumption of guilt against an entire people. It is altogether likely that the judgment of the majority in the Oppenheimer case will be set aside by the A. E. C., but exoneration of Dr. Oppenhimer will not expunge this shameful decision from the history books. It will continue to haunt the American conscience for many years, for as Dr. Evans points out in his dissent, it is "a black mark on the escutcheon of our country." Nor will final exoneration for Dr. Oppenheimer correct the faults of our present security system, which must be promptly and radically revised. Even so, every American should be deeply grateful to Dr. J. Robert Oppenheimer for his great moral courage in having decided to make public the record of his case. Only such records can arouse the people to the evils and dangers of our present security system.

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

The Week of Decision

BY J. ALVAREZ DEL VAYO

United Nations

LAST week's Security Council meeting on Thailand's request for the dispatch of U. N. observers to that country's "threatened" border with Indo-China meant little in itself. But in conjunction with events—or the lack of events—at Geneva, the session had its points of interest. Thailand's request was put on the agenda by a vote of ten to one, the Soviet Union dissenting. Soviet representative Tsarapkin argued that in view of Geneva any consideration by the Council of issues dealing with Indo-China would only hamper possibilities of settlement. Speaking for France, Ambassador Hoppenot said he could understand Russian apprehensions to a certain extent, but insisted that inasmuch as the Thai request did not involve the Indo-China question as a whole but merely the problem of posting U. N. observers on Thai territory, a discussion could hardly affect the negotiations at Geneva.

Ambassador Sarasin then presented Thailand's case in a quiet statement which added little to facts already known. Thailand considered itself "to be directly threatened" by a further extension of the Indo-Chinese war, he said, and added that "an ounce of prevention is worth a pound of cure." It might be said that there were several pounds of behind-the-scenes motives which gave extra weight to the brief and rather dull session. Significantly it ended with the adoption of a motion by Malik of Lebanon to adjourn to permit further intergovernmental "consultations." Clearly no one around the Council table was in any hurry to do anything that might complicate what others were trying to do elsewhere.

The five-power military conference now taking place in Washington also seems to be marking time. Although of course the sessions are secret, enough has leaked out to establish that the French have admitted the failure of the Navarre plan and are asking that steps be taken to assure that General Ely, just appointed to replace Navarre as military commander in Indo-China, be given a better chance to succeed. President Eisenhower, too, is apparently marking time; at least that is the interpretation placed by diplomats upon his recent press-conference statement that he has not yet decided whether to ask Congressional authority for armed intervention.

This attitude of caution while an international conference is proceeding conforms to good diplomatic custom. Unfortunately, other factors are working in an opposite direction. While Geneva stands still, the Vietminh, despite the rains, are advancing south of Hanoi, and with each yard they gain certain delegations at Geneva, especially the Americans, grow more restive. For day by day the Vietminh are blasting away at the "position of strength" from which the West would like to negotiate.

The impatience is shared in Washington. The Washington correspondent of the London *Daily Mail* cabled his paper: "Washington planners, from Dulles downward, have never liked the Geneva conference, and today they are writing it off as the failure they anticipated. They believe the next seven days will demonstrate that the Communists do not want peace on any terms except military victory in Indo-China." American diplomatic circles are offering alternative explanations for Communist tactics at Geneva. One theory is that their play is for time while Ho Chi-minh prepares for the final assault on Hanoi. Another is that the Communists are more interested in destroying the European Defense Community than in capturing the Red River Delta. According to this theory, the Russians and Chinese are teasing Bidault with secondary concessions and a promise of a cease-fire in the hope of prolonging the conference beyond mid-July, so that the French Parliament can go into summer recess without having ratified the E. D. C. treaty.

THE British and the Indians are concentrating their efforts on blocking any attempt to fix a closing date for the Geneva sessions. With their experience in Eastern affairs, the British insist that patience is indispensable in negotiations with Asians. But over the week-end the feeling was growing that Washington has begun to look upon Geneva as the chief stumbling-block to the achievement of a Southeast Asian alliance. According to certain Western diplomats in a position to know, the Americans believe that it will take at least five months to cement such an alliance. Five months have also a domestic political meaning for the United States: the November elections. It is generally assumed that until then, at least, the President is unlikely to discard his trump card, the ending of the war in Korea, by starting a new war elsewhere. But after November, so some Western diplomats say, the Administration will feel free to act even if the Democrats win, for it is pointed out that the Republicans have no monopoly on the policy of the "strong hand" in Asia. Indeed, in this regard some Democrats outdo their Republican colleagues.

As the week started, it was clear that Geneva had tacitly decided to take no further action on the Indo-China question while the French Assembly was debating the issue—a debate in which not only Laniel but also Bidault must face a storm of criticism. It would appear therefore that next week, the week of June 14-21, will prove decisive at Geneva. The chances for compromise on the principal issues—the terms of a cease-fire and the machinery for its control—seem to ebb by the hour. Still, the conference cannot be written off as a failure until the final adjournment.

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

NINE MEN SPEAK TO YOU

Jim Crow in the North . . . *by Fredric Wertham*

The only way to show the beauty of justice is by showing, in pretty plain terms, the consequences of injustice.—*Sydney Smith.*

AT A time when the attention of the whole country was given to the army-McCarthy games, an epoch-making event took place. The United States Supreme Court decided that segregation of Negro children in primary and secondary schools was illegal and had to be abolished. Even if there were no Voice of America, the news of this decision would resound to the farthest corners of the world.

The immediate reaction of newspapers, commentators, and other mass media was as automatic as a conditioned reflex. It was expressed in the ubiquitous headline: Will South End Negro Schools? But was this the only question raised by the clear-cut judgment of the Supreme Court? Was it even the most important one?

There were many forces on the scene and behind the scene that caused this historic decision. Here was a group of lawyers with superior skill, superior strategy and devotion—and of course a better case. They were organized and guided by Thurgood Marshall, the chief counsel of the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People, which handled the whole case. There were broad social contributing factors. Great economic changes have been going on; economists are not agreed whether we are in a war economy heading for peace or a peace economy heading for war. Education of many for skilled work has become a necessity. In the last fifteen years or so a new Negro middle class has developed. The South has made tremendous industrial strides forward; as Walter White has emphasized, the time is past when it depended on the one-crop system of raising cotton. These and other economic circumstances of basic importance for the Supreme Court's decision will be fully disentangled only by future historians of our time.

Another causative element was the foreign reaction to racial discrimination in the United States. Extolling of American democracy over the world was jammed less by physical sound waves than by the echoes of voices of people here suffering from racial discrimination. It was not without influence that the chief justice of the high court that arrived at this unanimous decision had never been a judge before in any court. This was a political decision as much as a legal one. Of course some people see the Supreme Court's action in terms of a self-propelled mystical progress of culture. Perhaps they rely on Myrdal's grandiose but abstract statement that "America is continually struggling for its soul." (Isn't that what Dr. Goebbels said about Nazi Germany?) Actually, history progresses along much more concrete lines. Long before this federal segregation case there were many local skirmishes, social, legal, and administrative.

One other factor led up to the final decision and is embodied in it. For the first time clinical psychiatry was applied in such an issue, and testimony about it was admitted in a court. This psychiatric angle is an important weapon against the inevitable counter-arguments that will be made to delay or vitiate the local implementation of the Supreme Court opinion. The Supreme Court tried five state-segregation cases at the same time. Four of these cases had been lost in the state courts, and the N. A. A. C. P. appealed from these adverse judgments to the highest court. In the fifth case, the Delaware case, clinical psychiatric testimony was introduced, and this case was won in both the Chancery Court and the Supreme Court of Delaware. In this case it was the state that had to appeal to the United States Supreme Court. So it was the weakest spot in the armor of reaction.

WHEN the N. A. A. C. P. asked the Lafargue Clinic—the first psychiatric clinic established in the Harlem district—to aid in the Delaware case, the question of school segregation was nothing new to us. We had encountered it in our ordinary work right in New York City, although it was officially abolished by the Legislature in 1938. In conferences with Jack Greenberg of New York and Louis Redding of Wilmington, the N. A. A. C. P. lawyers who argued the Delaware case both in Wilmington and later in Washington, we decided on a unique experiment. The effect of school segregation on children had never been examined by clinical psychiatric methods, and the Lafargue Clinic took up the matter of segregation from an entirely new point of view: is school segregation injurious to children's mental health and for that reason a public-health problem?

A group of Negro and white children from Delaware, selected at random, was sent to the clinic in New York and examined there on successive occasions, individually and in small groups. The school situation itself we considered in the widest possible sense, including the attitude of different teachers and such pseudopodia of the system as school buses. What was important about segregation in Delaware is that it was decreed by the state, in contrast to New

FREDRIC WERTHAM, noted psychiatrist and director of the Lafargue Clinic in New York, testified as an expert in one of the cases involved in the Supreme Court's recent decision against segregation in public schools. He is the author of "Seduction of the Innocent" and other books.

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

York City, where it is unofficial and brought about by gerrymandering of school districts and by the misapplication of group psychological tests.

Although it is difficult to single out one factor from the complex structure of a child's emotional health, it can be done. Segregation, we found, leads to an emotional conflict which in the individual child may take different forms. The conflict itself is unsolvable. Children are apt to interpret segregation as punishment, not for what they do, but for what they are. They cannot discuss this constructively with their parents because they sense from evasive replies that the parents themselves are insecure in this respect and do not have the answers. Children may fail to get a correct image of human relationships because they have been given a distorted one in vital circumstances. The emotional conflict, usually repressed, can be understood only in its social context: private discrimination gets mixed up in the child's mind with official discrimination bearing the ethical stamp of the authority of the state. In decreeing school segregation the state identifies itself with its most bigoted citizens. Segregation itself may be anxiety-producing. And the emotional health of white children is by no means unaffected. They are apt to have illusions of superiority, the superman complex. Prejudice-producing images find a fertile soil in them, as do suggestions of violence. Some identify themselves unconsciously with the Negro children who are put upon.

In October, 1951, in Wilmington, I testified to all this at some length and with clinical examples at a trial which was conducted with exemplary fairness and latitude for witnesses by Judge Collins J. Seitz. With regard to the doctrine of "separate-but-equal" facilities I said that even if the state of Delaware should have Professor Einstein to teach the Negro children physics in marble halls, the emotional effect and the public-health problem would remain the same. During cross-examination I did not deny the existence of other harmful factors of race prejudice, but pointed out that they make the potential harm of school segregation even more important. The court accepted these findings and said in its opinion: "The fact is that such practice [school segregation] creates a mental-health problem." This, in Thurgood Marshall's words, was "the first real victory in the campaign to destroy school segregation." The Supreme Court of Delaware upheld this victory.

When the Delaware case was argued before the Supreme Court of the United States, on December 11, 1952, Justice Frankfurter raised a very important question: Is psychiatry a "science in the sense of mathematical certainty" and can an expert say what is "inside your brain" as definitely as if he had "measured three yards and says it's three yards"? Isn't his testimony all "opinion evidence"? Mr. Greenberg very correctly conceded this. Clinical interviews and psychological-test results may have the appearance of factual data, but they are based on opinion anyhow. Clinical judgment is fundamental in their evaluation.

Another question raised in all five of the cases was open to more clearly defined experimental proof. It was contended that there would be all sorts of difficulties if Negro children were to be admitted to schools hitherto reserved for white pupils. Since Negro children in Delaware were the only ones now legally admitted to schools from which they formerly were barred, a research team from the Lafargue Clinic went there to examine them. It was made up of a psychiatrist, a teacher, and two psychologists, and it undertook a study such as had never before been made. The findings were clear. All the children who had been changed to integrated schools made distinctly better academic progress; the predicted disturbances did not eventuate; even the parents profited socially from the change. The sampling was small, but the qualitative response was revealing and unequivocal. It is reasonable to assume that children in other states will react similarly.

WHAT will be the general effects of the Supreme Court decision? They are probably more varied than appears on the surface or in the headlines. The most immediate effect, unplanned and unforeseen, had little to do with the content of the judgment, coming rather from the painstaking and democratic legal way it was arrived at. At the army-McCarthy hearings, legal and parliamentary procedures were being vitiated, distorted, and abused. Big issues were covered up by small talk, and little issues were inflated by big talk. Seasoned lawyers looking at the television screen squirmed at the disregard for orderly rules. With one stroke the Supreme Court reestablished in the consciousness of the people the fact that there *is* a majesty of democratic law and an inviolability of due process.

The court also struck a blow at the idea, often expressed in different ways, that social change cannot be brought about by law. That is supposed to be a liberal view, but actually it is anarchy speaking. Of course the world cannot be improved by law alone; but just as surely it cannot be improved without law. Both Thurgood Marshall and the N. A. A. C. P. know well how much progress in equalizing educational facilities has been made under legal duress. There is also the idea that you must view what is grandiosely called the "total picture" and that you cannot single out one factor, cannot attack one evil at a time. But the Supreme Court has just done this, and very successfully, though it could easily have sidestepped the issue, as most of us do.

Law is the best instrument for adult education. The old alibi that you have to educate the people first and do the right thing afterward has now been exploded by the Supreme Court. The letter of the law can be interpreted, the spirit of the law can be violated, but the administration of the law is your affair through your voting for elected officials and through your spreading enlightenment, whether you live in the North or in the South.

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

Most important of all, it seems to me, is the lesson that goes beyond the issue of school segregation. The high court has given us a signal that there is a lot for all of us to do to counteract the race prejudice we see around us. First we must recognize it. Some time ago a New York City department issued a photograph of a typical foster mother surrounded by four children, two white, two colored. The impression conveyed and accepted, of course, was that she cared for these children regardless of color or race. Actually, rules strictly separate white and Negro children in foster-home placement. This photograph was not "doctored"—but it certainly was nursed. When the *U. S. News and World Report* wrote, in connection with the recent court decision, "Equality of Races Means This," it summarized its data under fourteen headings. The field of health was completely left out! And this is the field where there is so much, and sometimes so deadly, discrimination. There are many other areas where the classification rejected by the Supreme Court for schools still holds and prejudice reigns. In some communities devoted to white people's recreation, Negroes, whoever they are, are not allowed on the street after 7 p. m. More race hatred has been instilled in American children through comic books in the past ten years than in the preceding hundred years. As Constance Curtis writes in her Harlem Diary: "From the time they can hold a book and look at a picture—long before they can read—the children are learning the most vicious stereotypes of the white superman and the dark degenerate." If race prejudice is outlawed in children's school hours, should not its instigation be outlawed in their time of leisure?

Much has to be done by all of us, in many areas of both private and public life. The Supreme Court has rendered its decision. The nine men have spoken. They have spoken to you.

LESSONS FROM MALAYA

1. France's Lost Cause . . . *by Victor Purcell*

About the Author

Malaya and Thailand, together with crumbling Indo-China, constitute the West's line of defense in Southeast Asia. If Indo-China falls, can the West hold the other two? Victor Purcell, who spent twenty-five years in the area and is perhaps Britain's greatest expert on Malaya, attempts to answer this critical question in the following two-part article, the second part of which will appear next week.

From 1921 to 1946, except for army service in both world wars, Mr. Purcell filled important posts, including that of Director of Information, in the Malayan civil service. For two years thereafter he was consultant on Malayan and Chinese affairs to the United Nations. His latest book, "Malaya: Communist or Free?" has just been published in England by Gollancz.

London

FOR over twenty-five years I was a professional "imperialist," which is merely to say that, happening to be British and anxious to see the world, I gravitated into one of those nice, sheltered, proconsular jobs open to young men of my particular background. I was glad that it was Malaya and not India that had "called me," for I had already seen the red light of Indian nationalism before I left England in April, 1921, and it was gleaming redder every time I visited that agitated subcontinent.

Malaya was an altogether different proposition. It was small and only just beginning to be opened up on a considerable scale, and although already a "plural" society consisting of Malay, Chinese, and Indian communities as yet unfused, it was peaceful and prosperous and had no domestic politics worthy of the name. In spite of my being, philosophically speaking, an anarchist, I cannot say that I felt any twinge of conscience at finding myself a pale-faced alien ordering the affairs of people of robuster color. In the historical circumstances it seemed quite natural, for without British intervention Malaya would have remained a few scattered communities torn by internecine strife in a sea of jungle and swamp, and its economic riches would have been indefinitely withheld from the world. But looking out at the simmering caldron of Asian nationalism round about, I did not—like some of my more senior associates—deceive myself into believing that this halcyon calm could last for ever. Some time or other the caldron would slop over, awakening a Malayan nationalism like a scalded cat, and we Europeans should all be out on our ear.

Having volunteered to learn Chinese, I spent two years in Canton during the time of troubles (a bullet in the window-sash meant that Sun Yat-sen had taken refuge on a British gunboat; another through the roof meant that he was back in power again); and China henceforth became my aesthetic cynosure as well as the center of my political world. In 1937 I found myself fleeing with Chiang's government through Hunan; during World War II I flew over the Hump on a mission to Chungking; later, as a United Nations official, I met Chiang Kai-shek and his ministers during the last phases of his mainland regime. Meanwhile, in Malaya, I filled a number of appointments, in particular, that of Protector of Chinese. I took every opportunity of visiting the

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

surrounding countries of Southeast Asia —Thailand, Indo-China, Indonesia, Burma, and the Philippines—combining business with pleasure and coming into contact with most of the political leaders at some time or another—Nehru, Thakin Nu, Pibul Songkram, Roxas, Quirino, Sjahrir. My most recent visit was in late 1952.

I first visited Indo-China in 1935. Journeying overland into Cambodia, I experienced one of the two most memorable sensations of my Far Eastern career—namely, the prospect of the ruins of Angkor (the other being my first sight of Peking); and as I gazed at their splendor and marveled at their variety and extent, I realized once more how recent and transitory was Western dominion over Asia. Two years later I entered Indo-China from the north and passed along the Red River Delta from Hanoi to Haiphong; in 1940, a month or two before the fall of France, I was again in Cochin-China and Annam and I could sense the defeatism that was already seizing Frenchmen in its grip. At the hill station Dalat I saw the young Emperor, Bao Dai, playing golf—reportedly his real vocation—and thence I went shooting big game in the forests round Camranh Bay, later to be the naval base for Japan in its invasion of Malaya. In 1950 I was back again in Cambodia and Annam to find them in the throes of the present civil war.

So much by way of an introduction, to lend, I hope, actuality to what I have to say on matters of deeper import.

I COULD not help comparing Indo-China with Malaya. The French came late into the colonial field of Southeast Asia and lost no time in exploiting their conquests. Materially, their achievement was of the same order as that of their rivals, the British and the Dutch—roads, bridges, hospitals, technology, rubber. In the realm of imponderables, however, I feel that their regime was less successful than the more remote and casual control of the British in India and Malaya. Lovers of France know that its people more than any other have a pardonable belief in the paramount virtue of their own culture and way of life, and being brought up on logic, they carry this belief to its logical conclusion. But when such a credo is applied to a country which itself has two thousand years of civilization behind it, there is bound to be a conflict of opinions followed by a clash of wills. The French have no color prejudice: they believe that all men are equal, so long as they are French—and every ambitious Annamite or Cambodian might reasonably aspire to become a Frenchman. The centers of art and learning in Indo-China rivaled those of France itself, and the cities were laid out with fine boulevards and dominated by massive Gothic cathedrals, just like little Parises. The public works, however, though often elegant and ingenious, had little of the ox-like solidity of those in Malaya, while the transportation services placed the accent on virtuosity rather than on survival. As for the blessed voice of sanitation, it boomed out loudly enough from some of the larger hotels, but elsewhere it faded rapidly into a whimper followed by silence.

All the same, *France Outremer* was far less like France itself than the British and Dutch possessions were like the mother country. The French are a nation of stay-at-homes, and Indo-China did not attract the type of administrator equivalent to those in Malaya and Indonesia, although the lower posts in the civil service, which in Malaya were reserved for the local inhabitants, were in Indo-China occupied by an army of French and Corsican *fonctionnaires*. Poorly paid, they were no more proof against temptation than Asians in similar positions, and French prestige suffered in consequence. Altogether, the French were more in physical and cultural evidence than was good for their relations with the Annamese, whereas the British administration in Malaya was an unobtrusive feature of the landscape.

It was in its spirit of compromise that the British method most differed from the French. In Malaya the British introduced no measure into the legislatures—though they had official majorities—until unofficial opinion had been sounded, and an unpopular measure was almost invariably dropped. The French, however, were in Indo-China not to compromise but to command. Local tariffs were for long fixed in the interests of French industry, and the highly centralized system of government, radiating from the colonial inspectorate in Paris, allowed of little flexibility. When confronted with a growing national movement in the thirties, the French crushed its every manifestation with ruthless severity, and their overcrowded prisons were often replicas of Devil's Island.

But whatever the world's final verdict on the French regime in Indo-China may be—and it had many good points besides those here recorded—its survival after 1940 is one of the curiosities of history.

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

In June the Vichy government yielded to the first Japanese demands; in September the Japanese troops began landing at Haiphong. In July, 1941, the whole of Indo-China was occupied, but for reasons of expediency the French administration was retained. Frequent tours of inspection maintained the illusion of French rule, while Radio Saigon played up the theme of "Pétain-Confucius," the wise man who kept Indo-China neutral in a world conflict. Native uprisings were severely repressed by French troops and hundreds of nationalists were imprisoned. Throughout, the Vichy French obediently played the Japanese game.

In March, 1945, the Japanese felt the need for a more direct control, and while they were taking over the country their official radio declared that "the colonial status of Indo-China had ended." The Emperor Bao Dai issued a declaration of independence followed by similar declarations by the Kings of Cambodia and Luang Prabang. From then on resistance to the Japanese was almost the monopoly of the Vietminh under the leadership of Ho Chi-minh. His guerrillas were accepted as allies by the American O. S. S., which supplied them with weapons and technical aid. The Vietminh then increased their activities and freed seven provinces of the north from the Japanese. When Japan collapsed in August, they occupied Hanoi and Saigon and proclaimed a provisional government.

ANYONE who at this juncture had foretold the coming recovery by France of its Far Eastern empire would have been thought not quite right in the head, but such a recovery Western high policy had decreed. General Gracey, of Lord Mountbatten's command, who had come to take the Japanese surrender south of the Sixteenth Parallel, has described what happened in these words: "I was welcomed on arrival by the Vietminh, who said 'welcome' and all that sort of thing. It was a very unpleasant situation, and I promptly kicked them out."*

The rest of the dismal story of Indo-China is well known in America—or is it? The British at once began handing over to the French, and by an accord of March 16, 1946, between the French and the Vietminh, the French government recognized Vietnam as a free state having its own government, parliament, army, and finances, and forming part of the Indo-Chinese Federation and French Union. Outstanding questions—the main one being whether Cochin-China was to be regarded as a French colony or part of Vietnam, which it was traditionally—were to be left to a conference between the French and the Vietminh. Admiral d'Argenlieu's action, first in recognizing a provisional government which had been set up in Cochin-China and then in calling a conference omitting Vietnam but including Cochin-China at the very time that the Fontainebleau conference, attended by Ho Chi-minh, was sitting, undoubtedly sabotaged the entente. An uneasy quiet followed a modus vivendi signed at Fontainebleau, and in November open warfare began.

It happened that in August, 1950, I was again in Indo-China. I first of all visited Pnom Penh, where I was told by senior French officials that a full-scale terrorist campaign conducted by the Cambodian nationalists in league with the Vietminh was now in progress and that no Frenchman outside the big towns could sleep safely in his bed. In Saigon, where I met General Carpentier, the acting High Commissioner, and his staff, I formed a very grave view of the situation. Saigon-Cholon, a local Minneapolis-St. Paul, was nominally under French control, but in a three-day-and-night inspection of it I received a different impression. In this period I heard five bombs explode, one very close. These home-made bombs were not intended to be especially lethal, killing only five or six persons at a time, but to remind some shopkeeper or gaming-house proprietor that he was in arrears in his payments to the Vietminh. The area was, in fact, subject to double taxation—once by the Franco-Vietnam government and once by the Vieminh. But what convinced me that the French cause, in a long-term sense, was a hopeless one was the universal expression of sullen hostility on the faces of the people. It raised an almost palpable wall of silent hatred between these small-boned, feminine people and the French and their foreign legionaries; yet the French, their Annamese supporters, and the Vietminh "underground" rubbed shoulders on the dance floors of the nightclubs in the neutrality of a common dissipation. In Saigon-Cholon the writing on the wall was unmistakable.

A WEEK or two after this I had an interview with Malcolm MacDonald at Bukit Serene, near Singapore. He himself had recently paid another visit to Indo-China and had again publicly declared his complete confidence in the ultimate outcome. I gave him my impressions to the contrary, but while he admitted that for the moment things might not be going so well, he believed that the French knew exactly what they were doing. Bao Dai, he said, was not the "playboy" he had been reported to be but a statesman of great political acumen. Not long before the siege of Dienbienphu, Mr. MacDonald prophesied a victory for General Navarre within two years. He is constitutionally an overt rather than a secret optimist—an asset in an improving but not in a deteriorating situation.

It was a delicate position in which Mr. MacDonald was placed. He had no administrative functions whatever, but effected coordination among the British territories of Southeast Asia and acted as a liaison between them and neighboring countries purely by information and advice. He was called upon to be a sort of universal solvent disposing of difficulties by his own personal magic. He was in constant locomotion, flying and motoring all over Southeast Asia, pouring oil on troubled waters as from some inexhaustible container. He was by temperament admirably suited for the job, being a prince of good-mixers as well as a sword-dancer and a talented acrobat —when elated he would walk about the room on the palms of his hands. He was undeniably popular with almost everybody, especially Asians, who sensed in him a complete lack of color prejudice. When General Templer arrived on the scene, armed with full powers over the Federation of Malaya, civil as well as military, there ensued a strange and oft-repeated charade. First came the General with his armored cars, his collective punishment, and his pulverizing abuse, to be followed closely by Mr. MacDonald with his jar of oil and his healing words. Lord Acton remarks somewhere that in history the man with the sword is followed by the

*Journal of the Royal Central Asian Society, July-October, 1953, p. 213.

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

man with the sponge, and this seems in a striking way to describe the respective roles of the General and Mr. MacDonald. The fact is, however, that in 1954 the Commissioner General's sponge had become saturated and could hold no more. The supply of oil, too, had given out with the fall of Dienbienphu.

When this is being written the Geneva conference is still in progress. The question asked on all hands is whether, should Indo-China fall, a second line could be formed in Thailand and, above all, whether Malaya could still be held. In a concluding article, centering on Malaya, I shall attempt to suggest an answer to this momentous question.

ASIAN SOCIALISTS

A Search for Peace . . . *by Maung Maung*

Kalaw, Burma

WAS it General Omar Bradley who said we cannot halt imperialism with moral indignation? The Asian Socialists' Anti-Colonial Bureau, which has just concluded its first meeting at the pleasant hill station of Kalaw in northern Burma, did more than express indignation at colonialism and imperialism. In a busy three-day session (May 25-28) members from Indonesia, the Gold Coast, Nigeria, Japan, India, Pakistan, Israel, and Burma, with fraternal delegates from Yugoslavia, the International Union of Socialist Youth, Vietnam, and Ceylon, discussed a wide range of subjects—from colonialism to the revision of the U. N. Charter, from details of liaison and organization to peace in Indo-China and Korea, from economic cooperation to outlawing the H-bomb. The Burmese Minister of Industries, Kyaw Nyein, served as chairman. Resolutions were passed, some no doubt only of moral force and value. Programs were agreed upon, some of which will certainly yield results.

The important thing about the meeting was its evidence that Asian Socialists are still eager and inspired and active. At the first Asian Socialist Conference, held in Rangoon over a year ago, with Britain's Clement Attlee and others from the Socialist International present as delegates, it was decided to establish at Rangoon a permanent secretariat of the conference which would work for closer unity among the young Asian Socialist parties and keep up a friendly liaison with the International. The secretariat has been active, and its monthly journal *Socialist Asia* has gained a respectable circulation. The Anti-Colonial Bureau was formed at the Hyderabad conference six months ago and charged with the duty of marshaling the democratic forces against the remnants of colonialism in Asia and Africa.

In the bureau and the secretariat the desire of Asian Socialists for unity and coordination has been converted into living organizations—feeble but still alive. The chairman of the Asian Socialist Conference, Burmese Defense Minister Ba Swe, in a survey of the past year, thought the response of members had been "scant and halting" and feared the bureau and the secretariat might become mere "ceremonial organizations." Better support for *Socialist Asia* and other publications, more frequent exchange of views and visits, more meetings and seminars were needed. However, the first year was not so barren as the Minister made it seem. Many Asian Socialist parties are still having growing pains, and keeping in touch with one another is in itself an accomplishment.

FROM the mountain heights of Kalaw the Asian Socialists viewed the world and discussed its ills. Peace, they saw, was what was sadly missing from the scene. Tensions, most of them traceable to colonialism and imperialism, were tormenting the world. The bureau's resolution on Indo-China called for a truce followed by fair and free nation-wide elections under international supervision, which would herald the emergence of a united, independent Indo-China free from the domination of either of the power blocs. Similar elections should be held in a free and united Korea. Freedom was demanded for Malaya and the African colonies. All the newly emancipated Asian nations should join and lend support to the freedom movements; a day would be fixed in October, Dependent Peoples' Day, for meetings and demonstrations expressing disapproval of colonialism. The bureau also decided to send fact-finding and good-will missions to Malaya and Indo-China, the British Labor Party to be invited to join the Malayan mission and the French Socialist Party the Indo-Chinese.

Since Asian countries need not only political freedom but economic aid, the bureau proposed mutual assistance for underdeveloped areas. It thought that a "World Development Authority," a pool of material resources and technical skill, might well be more effective than the International Bank. The economic committee was asked to recommend practical steps to a conference to be held in Tokyo in November. Questions of organization were thoroughly discussed, and it was decided that greater efforts should be made to attract young people, with their idealism and energy, to the bureau and the conferences. Youth seminars should be frequently organized, and Asian Socialist Youth should build closer relations with the International Union of Socialist Youth. Trade-union education should also be taken care of; the Burma Socialists undertook to organize a seminar in the near future.

Though Asians easily yield to emotion when speaking of colonialism, the delegates to the Kalaw meeting were relatively realistic. The accusing finger was

---

MAUNG MAUNG is editor of the Guardian, *an English-language periodical published in Rangoon.*

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

not pointed exclusively at the "imperialist West." When Burma's Minister of Defense described the "neo-colonialism" of Soviet Russia as even more dangerous than the old imperialism, being "more ruthless, more systematic, and more blatantly justified in the name of the world Communist revolution," his hearers were in general agreement. (There was a flurry of excitement in the country, however, and in the press.) Dr. Lohia of India wanted to apportion guilt equally to the new Soviet imperialism and the old Western type, but the Minister stood by his statement, saying Socialists should not be satisfied with accepted ideas but keep an open mind and see the facts as they are. This emphasis on realism struck the keynote of the whole meeting.

Southeast Asia's problems admit of no easy solutions, and the final settlement will call for understanding and tolerance. The Asian Socialists have made it clear that the solutions will not be found in a Pacific defense pact sponsored by America or in a bloc forged by Soviet expansionism. The young Asian countries are suspicious of all the great powers; what they want is freedom to mold their own destinies and conditions of peace in the world that will enable them to do so. The Asian Socialists are now going home to make their desire and determination felt by the wider world.

THE LAMB CASE

Who Rules the Air? . . *by Edgar Kemler*

EDWARD LAMB, the TV broadcaster whose Americanism has been questioned by certain members of the Federal Communications Commission, happens to be a great collector of Americana. When he remodeled his 125-year-old house near Toledo, Ohio, Lamb used bricks that had formerly been part of the White House. He has a collection of American autographs worth tens of thousands of dollars. His most-cherished possession is perhaps the two matching Gilbert Stuart paintings of George and Martha Washington. In short, he is intensely proud of his Americanism.

To date his controversy with the F. C. C. has received little attention from the press, which is more alert to encroachments on its own freedom of speech than on that of the broadcasting industry, but before it has been resolved it may well become a headliner—not because Lamb is such an extraordinary man but because he illustrates so well the plight of the old-time New Dealer in the new era of arch-Republicanism. On one count, to be sure, Ted Lamb is extraordinary enough: he can coin money with his left hand, as counsel for the railroads, manufacturers, and big Ohio utilities, while keeping his right hand free for his political interests.

EDGAR KEMLER, author of "An Ethical Guide for New Dealers" and "The Irreverent Mr. Mencken," is a frequent contributor to The Nation.

After graduating from Dartmouth (class of 1924), he attended Harvard Law School, taught economics at Columbia, and prospected for gold in Alaska. He ran for the United States Senate as a Republican even as he was hanging out his shingle in Toledo. Soon he was taking labor and civil-liberties cases. Toledo in the early thirties was the scene of bitter labor strife, and this work of Lamb's was neither profitable nor without other unpleasant features. If he represented pickets, he knew that he would lose the employer as a client. In 1938, when defending Local 119 of the United Shoe Workers, he got into an argument with the judge which might have resulted in his disbarment but for the support of such legal luminaries as Justices Jackson, Douglas, and Frankfurter.

In 1946 he again became a storm center when the Supreme Court upheld the pottery workers against the Mt. Clemens (Michigan) Pottery Company on the famous issue of portal-to-portal pay. By this decision United States industry was opened up to a deluge of union lawsuits, and Lamb, who had been occupied with the case for almost four years, was pilloried as a "traitor to his class." However, he had accomplished what he set out to do—he had got the court to define for the first time the statutory work week of the Fair Labor Standards Act.

After World War II, Lamb the labor champion evolved by a natural sequence into Lamb the opinion-former in the communications field. In 1948 he became a pioneer FM broadcaster with stations WTVN-TV in Columbus and WICU-TV in Erie. Today he owns three TV stations, in Erie, Pittsburgh, and Massillon, and five radio stations in cities in Ohio, Pennsylvania, and Florida. He also owns the Erie *Dispatch Herald*, a 120-year-old newspaper with an annual gross of $2,000,000 which he acquired in 1945. In his paper and on the air, despite occasional flirtations with the Republicans, he has taken a strong liberal position. Repeatedly, he has urged his fellow-broadcasters to think less of color TV and other "gadgets" and more of their responsibility to the public. Moreover, he has practiced what he preached and has been rewarded by a popularity that is the envy of others in the industry.

His TV-radio properties are all big money-makers, their combined value having been reckoned as more than $10,000,000. His Edward Lamb Enterprises, Lamb Industries, and two score other corporations own amusement parks, office buildings, and some dozen manufacturing plants turning out water heaters, vacuum cleaners, furnaces, and light and heavy appliances of all kinds. Yet ever since he started his broadcasting operations, Lamb has been charged by his competitors with having associated with Communists as a young lawyer.

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

Although it has been in "Who's Who" for a dozen years, someone is always discovering that he was a founder of the National Lawyers' Guild. Six times since 1948, when he first applied for an FM radio license, the Federal Communications Commission has asked him to testify or affirm previous testimony denying this alleged Communist association. Each time the commission has found him free from taint and qualified to operate his stations in the public interest as prescribed by the law. He has been cleared by the F. B. I. No one has ever complained that he used his stations to promote Communist ends. Yet for some reason or other the charge still hangs over him.

AT FIRST glance, Lamb's success under our profit system would seem proof enough of his loyalty to it. By clinging to the New Deal line in its post-war variations, however, he has made himself suspect to the Ohio business community, and a book he wrote in 1933, "The Planned Economy of the Soviet Union," has strengthened the doubts. Possibly Lamb now regrets having written this book. He denies that he ever acclaimed the Soviet economy as superior to our own. Even his critics admit that Lamb specifically stated that all reforms must be effected by constitutional means. But the book was a tract of the times, and in those innocent days deference to Stalin's five-year plans was more or less standard practice among incipient New Dealers. Not until a year or so after its publication, not until the middle of F. D. R.'s first term, had the New Deal gained sufficient stature to serve as an American answer to the Russian challenge.

With Eisenhower's reorganization of the Federal Communications Commission—four of the seven members are now Republicans—Lamb had to pay for this youthful heresy. On July 29, 1953, he was told that his license to own and operate station WICU-TV in Erie would not be renewed pending a review of his qualifications—in most cases license renewal is routine. Seven months later, on March 11, the commission got around to saying that it "now had information raising doubts as to the truthfulness of his previous testimony"; this information, it said, indicated (1) that he had been a Communist from 1944 to 1948, (2) that he had contributed financially to the Toledo Communists during that period, and (3) that from 1934 to 1948 he had been "closely associated" with Communists. Questioned about the source of this information, the commission said it was based on a report of its own investigators. Lamb was given thirty days to present proof that he was not a Communist. If he could clear up the "doubts" in the commission's mind, his licenses would be renewed without a hearing; if not, hearings would be held at which he would be given the protection of due process, including the right to examine witnesses.

Among Lamb's friends this seventh attack was greeted with bored skepticism. The Toledo *Blade,* one of his competitors, said:

> Perhaps this belated showdown is desirable, both in fairness to Mr. Lamb and the F. C. C. Evidently that old story is never going to die a natural death, and the only thing to do is to bring it out in the open. If his accusers can prove any of the things they have been saying, let them prove it once and for all or else keep quiet about it hereafter. . . . This newspaper, which undoubtedly is as well informed about what goes on this community as anybody else, has never come across any evidence to support the accusations. . . . Though he catered to the left when that was the popular thing to do, he certainly appears to have been bearing right with his business activities in recent years. We will grant that one has to get up very early in the morning to get the better of him in anything. But a Communist? Bunk!

Meanwhile, Lamb was collecting documents and affidavits covering each of the commission's three complaints. These show that if he was a Communist in 1944-48, he certainly concealed it. It was during this very period that his Erie *Dispatch* helped to destroy the sympathy for Russia that had been built up during the war. In 1946 one of his editorials attacking the Communists was warmly praised by J. Edgar Hoover. And in 1947 one of his radio stations was criticized by his alleged beneficiary, the chairman of the Ohio Communist Party, for having "unfairly" exposed Communist objectives and "unfairly" refused to grant time to the Communists for a reply. As to Lamb's alleged association with Communists during the industrial strife of the thirties, August Scholle, president of the Michigan C. I. O. Council, recalls that in a conversation he had with Lamb back in 1936 Lamb showed himself to be as much "opposed to Communist infiltration of the unions as he was to the activities of anti-union industrialists."

These loyalty testimonials did not bring absolution. Lamb was still suspect, at least to the new Republican Commissioner, John C. Doerfer, who was leading the campaign against Lamb. Until he cleared himself in formal hearings—a matter of from two to four years, he was told—all his applications for new licenses, for renewal of old ones, or for technical operating changes would be tabled. At this, Lamb exploded. He believed that the commission planned to subject him to economic strangulation. His radio-TV empire had already begun to languish. He was not permitted to increase the power output of his Erie station, sell a TV transmitter to the Pittsburgh Educational Foundation, or broadcast at a recently purchased site near Massillon, Ohio, for which he had hired a crew and acquired $200,000 worth of equipment.

Expressing regret at having to take the step—he had never hitherto opposed any F. C. C. inquiry into his loyalty—he asked the United States District Court for the District of Columbia to enjoin the commission from carrying on the investigation and to make it stop implying he was a Communist. This was on May 11. According to his lawyer, former Attorney General J. Howard McGrath, the F. C. C. had been acting arbitrarily and unconstitutionally in these matters. McGrath said that if Lamb lied in signing an anti-Communist affidavit, which was not required anyway, Attorney General Brownell should try to indict him for perjury.

THIS is the public story of Lamb versus the Federal Communications Commission. Behind it one catches glimpses of a private vendetta between Lamb and Commissioner Doerfer that may be even more interesting. A former member of the Wisconsin Public Service Commission, Doerfer was appointed to the F. C. C. a year ago to serve a Democrat's unexpired term. The President has just reappointed him for a full seven-year term. Mr. Doerfer never wrote a book on the Soviet economy, but he

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

has carried on a flirtation with the junior Senator from Wisconsin that may some day seem equally repulsive to the American public. There is plenty of evidence that President Eisenhower originally appointed Doerfer to please McCarthy. "It's too bad that Lamb isn't a Republican," Doerfer is said to have told his colleagues, meaning that if Lamb had contributed as much to Ike and Dick in the 1952 elections as he did to Kefauver and Stevenson, he would not now be on the hot seat. When Lamb applied to the F. C. C. for permission to sell his Columbus station, WTVN-TV, for $2,000,000 to the Republican Taft family, Doerfer made no objection, and the commission approved the application in record time.

According to Lamb, the commission's three investigators went to Toledo and Erie with instructions "to get Lamb." One of them, he asserts, said, "We're going to take WICU-TV away from Lamb." In defiance Lamb offered to give $10,000 to anyone who could disprove his non-Communist affidavits. "I believe that there are persons who can be induced to bear false witness against their neighbors," he declared, "and they seem to function best when financial rewards are dangled before them."

If Lamb can prove his charges of a partisan frame-up by Doerfer, and possibly other commissioners, the prestige of the semi-judicial F. C. C. will of course be seriously damaged. But Lamb would still have to satisfy the Administration's security-risk program, according to which the government need not prove that a "suspect" is now or ever was part of the Communist Party apparatus; the most casual flirtation with communism twenty years ago can make a man a security risk. The program is designed not only to catch spies but also to rid the government of persons who, judged by alleged past weaknesses, "might become" spies at some future date. Doerfer is reported to have applied this doctrine to Lamb as follows: "Lamb was a traitor when he was poor and had wrinkles in his belly. Now that he is rich and has no wrinkles, he is loyal. But how do we know he won't become a traitor again if he ever loses his money?"

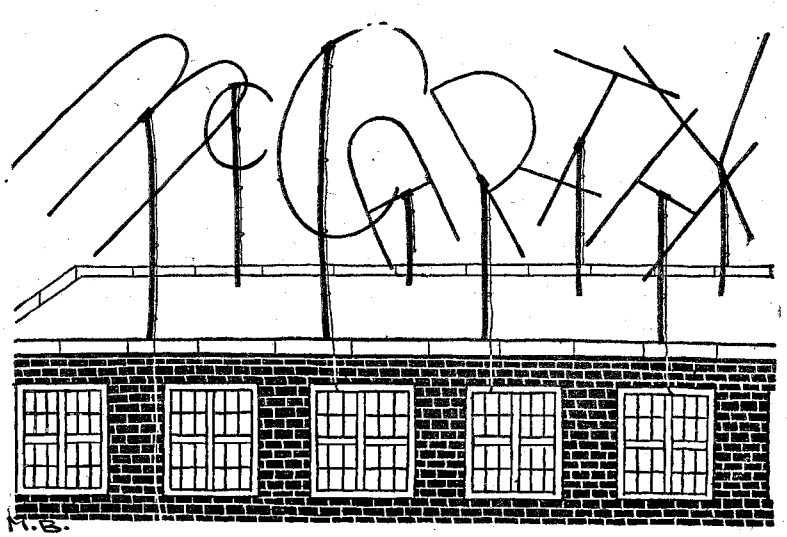
This doctrine has become so intertwined with Republican partisanship that it is difficult to deal with it on its merits. It has been used to label the entire Democratic Party the party of treason, to give Republicanism, especially right-wing Republicanism, a monopoly on loyalty, and to reduce the career men in public service to a collection of intellectual ciphers. Of course, for certain key positions, where security is an overriding consideration, rigid screening must be considered a necessary evil. But by what authority does the F. C. C. extend it to radio and TV? If we must now fear "security risks" in broadcasting, why should we not look for them in other enterprises affected with public interest—in book, magazine, and newspaper publishing, for example? The idea of using the label to attack one's business and political competitors suggests such widespread disruption of American democracy that even some of the government's own security officers have foresworn it. The decision as to who is and who is not a "security risk," said Scott McLeod, the State Department's security officer, is an arbitrary one. It must be based on considerations of national interest quite different from the conventional American principles of due process and fair play. The same man, McLeod argued, may be a "security risk" in the government and a "good American" in private enterprise. But if he is now to be routed out of private enterprise also, where will this "good American" finally end?

THIS is the issue that Lamb has presented to the federal courts. Among other things, he is seeking to force the commission to prove his alleged "guilt of association" with Communists. That the burden of proof is on the accuser is elementary in our system, and Lamb is willing to gamble that the courts will make the commission get back on the track. He is also going to put the commissioners on the witness stand and require them to reveal the background of the charges.

If Lamb wins his case he will only have cleared his name. If he loses, he will have to retire from the broadcasting field, not to mention the inevitable damage to his family and his extensive professional and business interests. Win or lose, by asking the courts to take judicial notice of the range and applicability of the new "security doctrine" Lamb is performing his greatest public service to date. Few men in their right minds would volunteer for such a test.

Even Lamb, who has never lost a fight so far, may have been tempted by lucrative offers for his radio and television properties—offers accompanied by assurances that if he would sell, commission approval would be forthcoming. This would be an easy way out for Lamb if he were thinking only of his financial security. But Lamb has chosen not to take the easy way out. He rejected a cash offer of $4,800,000 for his Erie radio-TV station on the very day he chose to fight out the issues in court.

Even in these hysterical days it is difficult to believe that an administrative agency of our government has to be hauled into court to make it give a man a hearing on anonymous charges. There is still a remote possibility that the Republican-dominated F. C. C., realizing it holds a very hot potato, may decide to vindicate Lamb.



LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

BOOKS

Lawrence: Target of Reaction

THE ACHIEVEMENT OF D. H. LAWRENCE. Edited and with an Introduction by Frederick J. Hoffman and Harry T. Moore. University of Oklahoma Press. $4.

SEX, LITERATURE, AND CENSORSHIP. By D. H. Lawrence. Edited by Harry T. Moore. Twayne. $3.

By Mary Freeman

THIS anthology pays tribute to Lawrence's writing without giving appreciably greater insight into it. Among the contributors, Ellman, Amon, West, and Nehls are refreshing exceptions because they do bring understanding of Lawrence's major intentions to their distinguished studies of his poetry, short stories, and travel books. No one has handled the novels with their acumen. Among the older essays those of Aldous Huxley and Horace Gregory still command respect and bear rereading. In the other studies a significant point is made here and there, most notably Leavis's that Lawrence's "mindless" ideas merit serious consideration and Hoffman's that Lawrence's view of man differed considerably from Freud's. But much of the book is filled out by impressive names contributing little substance—Eliot, Thurber, Undset, for example. Schorer, who seems to be heading somewhere, gets exasperatingly tangled in his own profundity.

The book's major weakness must be blamed on the editors, who while aware of the richness of their subject developed no consistent orientation that might guide the reader through their heterogeneous material. Their admiration for what they dub "scholarly research" in "D. H. Lawrence and Susan his Cow" casts doubt on their ability to do so, for Tindall's tracing of sources in this book led to complete misunderstanding of his subject. And, finally, they have made grave omissions that are emphasized by their comprehensive title. Significantly, neither they nor their contributors have given a clear exegesis of Lawrence's basic ideas.

MR. MOORE has assembled eight Lawrence essays, reportedly out of print, and launched them as "the 'Areopagitica' for the literature of love." They range from the earnest but lightly handled Making Love to Music to the impassioned Pornography and Obscenity, in which Lawrence charges his censors with responsibility for "hole-and-corner" and "smoking-room" obscenity. Moore's introduction gives an incisive account of Lawrence's collisions with self-designated but government-supported censors and brief notes on the time and circumstances of each essay.

The three essays on censorship are the core of the book. Four others apparently are included to amplify Lawrence's treatment of sex and love. The essay called Love, however, moves in a philosophic area not related to the immediate subject. By contrast, The State of Funk is an excellent choice, also widening the context but in direct relation to censorship. Regrettably Moore does not touch on its importance in explaining the link between political and moral censorship in Lawrence's experience and also in ours. Here Lawrence named the common root of both sorts of censorship—fear of social change. England, he wrote, was in a period of transition, and he warned that it must be courageous and "willing to change," for "once men fall into a state of funk" there is the "inevitable accompaniment of bullying and repression," to which "living things are most vulnerable."

Lawrence was himself the perfect target for reaction of all kinds. Not only was he a "living thing" who advocated enhanced life for its own sake, but, more incriminating, he hoped it would effect a social evolution involving wages, ownership, classes, in short "our whole industrial system."

MARY FREEMAN, having studied Lawrence's work for many years, is now writing a book about him.

Climate Past and Present

CLIMATIC CHANGE. EVIDENCE, CAUSES, AND EFFECTS. Edited by Harlow Shapley. Harvard University Press. $6.

By George Gamow

THIS interesting and informative book is the result of a series of conferences held by the American Academy of Arts and Sciences on the subject of climatic changes during the geological history of our planet and in modern times. It consists of twenty-two articles written by the participants of these conferences. The climatology of past and present requires the combined efforts of experts from many different branches of science—astronomy, geophysics, oceanography, meteorology, paleontology, and paleoanthropology. The topics discussed here range from the possible effect of the planet Pluto on the climate of our globe to the evidence of climatic changes given by the melting point of the marrow fat in the leg bones of Alaskan caribou. In time the discussion ranges from the climate of the Devonian period several hundred million years ago to the climatic changes which have taken place since 1885.

The articles fall into three groups: those presenting the evidence of climatic changes, those discussing the possible causes of these changes, and those considering the effect of these changes on the inhabitants of our globe. The climate of the past is reconstructed by the study of the fossils of ancient plants and animals. Thus, for example, we learn that since the first-known amphibians appeared at the close of the Devonian period in eastern Greenland, the climate of that now frozen island must have once been considerably milder. More varied and conclusive evidence can be found for the climatic changes in the most recent geological period, known as the Pleistocene, which was characterized by alternating advances and retreats of ice in both the Old and the New World.

A separate chapter is devoted to the knowledge of climatic changes derived from paleolimnology, the study of ancient lakes. It is therefore strange that

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

the important studies of the paleotemperatures of world oceans made by the American chemist Harold Urey on the basis of chemical equilibria in oceanic deposits are not even mentioned.

Climatic changes during the historical and modern periods are discussed in a few articles. The study of tree rings, particularly in the California sequoias, provides information about climatic variations during the past thousand years. Careful analysis of meteorological data collected during the last half-century indicates that there exists a general upward trend in global temperature.

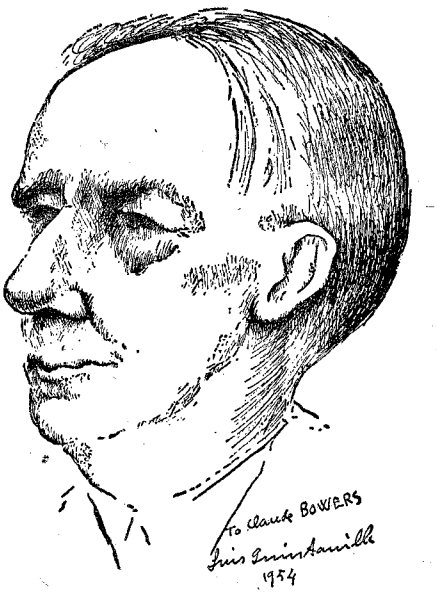
IN THE second group of articles some interesting questions are raised. Could ice ages be due to abnormal volcanic activity which changed the content of carbondioxide of the atmosphere and ejected into the atmosphere clouds of fine volcanic dust? Could the present changes of climate be due to the activity of fuel-burning inhabitants of the earth who put enough additional carbondioxide into the atmosphere to affect, if only slightly, the atmospheric control of climate? Neither of these questions is answered, though we know of course that smog is due to careless human activity.

Could the periodic ice ages of the Pleistocene period be due to the changes in the earth's orbit around the sun caused by other planets, including the distant Pluto? Or must we assume that the sun itself was changing its luminosity and thus affecting the temperature of our globe? These questions are authoritatively discussed in astronomical articles. The answer is that we still do not know or at least are not sure.

Finally, several articles are devoted to the effect of climate on life and on human civilization. There is also a brilliant contribution by Harlow Shapley himself on the possibility of life in other worlds and the conditions necessary for it.

The book is sometimes rather tough going, but anybody who works through it will get an inside view of changing climatic conditions which have affected the life and evolution of trilobites, dinosaurs, and ourselves.

GEORGE GAMOW is the author of "Birth and Death of the Sun," "The Creation of the Universe," and other books.



The distinguished diplomat and historian

Ambassador Claude G. Bowers

at last feels free to reveal
the shocking and tragic secret events
behind the fall of the Spanish Republic—
which he witnessed as
United States Ambassador
from 1933 to 1939.
His new book

MY MISSION TO SPAIN

WATCHING THE REHEARSAL FOR WORLD WAR II

is certain to be counted among
the most important
first-hand documents of our time.
It is, as well, a rich and loving portrait
of Spanish life and art by a great scholar
who has known its magic.

JUST OUT, PRICE $6 • SIMON AND SCHUSTER

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

A Study in Whitewash

CAPITALISM AND THE HISTORIANS. Edited with an Introduction by F. A. Hayek. University of Chicago Press. $3.

By Keith Hutchison

DR. HAYEK, indefatigable crusader for the rehabilitation of laisser faire, has now embarked on the formidable task of whitewashing the Industrial Revolution. A whole school of economic historians has, he asserts, maligned the Industrial Revolution in England by painting it as a time of horrors. In particular, they have succeeded in popularizing the myth that the rise of the capitalist industrial system was accompanied by a deterioration in the living standards of the working class—a myth which, in Dr. Hayek's view, is largely responsible for the "widespread emotional aversion to 'Capitalism.'"

To help him in combating this alleged distortion of history Dr. Hayek has organized an international group of scholars. Professor T. S. Ashton of the London School of Economics contributes two papers, one on the treatment of capitalism by the historians, the other examining the standard of living of the English workers between 1790 and 1830. Dr. Hacker of Columbia deals with the anti-capitalist bias of American historians, which in the main, he suggests, is not Marxian in origin but springs from agrarian, romantic, and Jeffersonian sources. Bertrand de Jouvenel, the French publicist, writing on the treatment of capitalism by Continental intellectuals, argues the need for "a study of the tensions arising between the intelligentsia and society." Finally Professor W. H. Hutt of the University of Capetown re-evaluates the series of Parliamentary reports that preceded the long succession of English Factory Acts and concludes that "there has been a general tendency to exaggerate the 'evils' which characterized the factory system before the abandonment of laisser faire."

I would like to take issue with Professor Hutt and also to challenge Professor Ashton's attempt to palliate the wholesale manufacture of slums in the first half of the nineteenth century. But I have space only to deal with what Dr. Hayek insists is the primary count against the economic historians—their failure to credit the Industrial Revolution with improving the lot of the working classes.

Actually, I do not think that any of the authors he indicts have denied that, in the long run, the workers received a share, not necessarily a fair one, of the increased wealth arising from industrialization. But it is strange to find a moralist like Dr. Hayek arguing that since we can applaud the end achieved we must also applaud the means. Is he prepared to excuse the means used to bring about industrialization in Russia if it can be shown that the standard of living of Russian workers has improved in the last thirty-five years?

The unpleasant truth may be, as M. de Jouvenel hints in his essay, that exploitation of the workers is an inescapable feature of the early stages of rapid industrialization, without outside aid, under any social system. For it requires a diversion of resources to investment that can only be achieved by the restriction of consumption. The "reward of abstinence" is reaped, not by the first generation of industrial workers, but by their children and grandchildren.

Long before the Hammonds wrote of the "bleak age," some of Dr. Hayek's spiritual ancestors took a gloomy view of the results of the economic changes of their time. As Dr. Ashton points out, Malthus in 1798 wrote: "The increasing wealth of the nation has had little or no tendency to better the conditions of the laboring poor." And more than fifty years later J. R. McCulloch found "little room for doubting that the factory system operates unfavorably on the bulk of those engaged in it."

In his study of working-class living standards Professor Ashton is a good deal less positive than Dr. Hayek about their improvement in the early stages of the Industrial Revolution. He points out that investigations of real wages in the period 1790 to 1830 fail to provide conclusive evidence of an upward trend. He admits that during the Napoleonic wars "there took place a whole series of transfers of income—to landlords, farmers, house-owners, bondholders, and entrepreneurs—and these almost certainly worsened the economic status of labor. The five or six years that followed brought little alleviation." Nor was improvement strikingly evident a decade later. "My guess would be," says Professor Ashton, "that the number of those who were able to share in the benefits of economic progress was larger than the number who were shut out from these benefits and that it was growing." There is a marked contrast between this cautious appraisal by a professional historian and some of the dogmatic statements in Dr. Hayek's introductory chapter.

KEITH HUTCHISON, a contributing editor of The Nation, *is the author of "The Decline and Fall of British Capitalism" and other books.*

IN THE review of "Formosa Beachhead" in our issue of May 29 (page 468) our reviewer asked the rhetorical question whether the Institute of Pacific Relations had been declared "subversive" by the United States Attorney General. For the benefit of readers who are not aware of the facts and may be misled by the incorrect statement in the book, we wish to make it clear that neither the international nor the American I. P. R. has ever been included by the Attorney General in the list of subversive organizations.—EDITORS THE NATION.

COLLET'S

Madame Sun Yat-sen

(SOONG CHING LING)

THE STRUGGLE FOR NEW CHINA

The story of the growth of modern China told through the speeches and articles of one of her most famous women.

PRICE 85 CENTS
(Including postage)

COLLET'S BOOKSHOPS
45 Museum Street, London W.C. 1, England

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

Art

S. Lane Faison, Jr.,

THE criticism which greeted last winter's exhibition of Younger European Painters at the Guggenheim Museum was too frequently chauvinistic. It was announced by the museum at the time that a comparable exhibition of Younger American Painters would be forthcoming and that the sequence implied no evaluation. Nevertheless, too many critics and too many visitors, instead of being grateful for the opportunity of a European reorientation, insisted that anything you can do we can do better. The American sequel promised by the museum is now on view (through July 31), and the superpatriots again have their chance.

I shall not join them. Just as the Pittsburgh International demonstrated, almost two years ago, that modern art is a truly international force, so the present exhibition, considered with its European forerunner, indicates that painting in the United States is vigorous and independent but that it exerts no monopoly in cultural leadership. It also indicates that for the most part our established modern masters continue to deserve their reputations. Of the fifty-four examples shown—one per painter—the finest were, I think, by Gottlieb, Kline, de Kooning, Matta, Motherwell, and Pollock. Each of these painters was represented by a first-class example; and stronger examples might have added Brooks and Schanker to my list. Though the exhibition itself carefully represents work being done over the nation as a whole, my choices are not so distributed, all of them being New York painters, and painters who think in bold and large-scale terms. A second list, of painters whose approach is more oblique and less insistent, painters who compose sonnets rather than epics, is more extensive geographically: Benrimo (Taos), Callahan (Seattle), Forst (New York), Graves (Seattle), Guston (New York), Hillsmith (New York), and Ruben (Los Angeles).

While I am disturbed by certain omissions (Rothko, MacIver) and could easily make eliminations to include them, Mr. Sweeney's wisdom in keeping the number down to what could be exhibited without crowding is everywhere apparent. Every picture has adequate space around it, and the white walls provide a sufficient frame for these frameless paintings. I think the low oranges and russets of Hyman Bloom's Conquest are killed by juxtaposition to Matta's magentas in Syllables of Spring, but that otherwise every artist has an admirable showing.

High on my list of omissions would be Alexander Liberman's Two Circles, the title of which would completely describe it if extended to Two Black Circles on White. I would also suppress the title of Kenneth Nack's The Expulsion of Possessions in a Danger of Being Gained, but not the painting itself. I would, however, suppress both the title and the painting in the case of Attilio Salemme's Mahatmas of the Lunar Shore—a dull and explicit delineation of post-Cubist ghouls.

From the regional point of view I gained the impression that Texas is emerging into art but that the kodachrome of local geology has not yet been left far enough behind. Several of the Chicago and San Francisco painters nearly made my first list, but from the examples shown lacked the power to sustain a whole large canvas, reverting in the final analysis to a decorative substitute (Du Casse) or to quotations from other artists. In a show of this kind everything depends on the selection, but I have confidence that on this occasion the artists were well served, to judge from cases where I feel competent to do so.

The Pollock, for instance, is Ocean Grayness, which was cited last February in this column as a major work. The Motherwell, Wall Painting IV (1954), equals any I have seen. The Gottlieb, W (1954), is not only major but suggests a line of creativity not represented in this painter's recent show at the Kootz Gallery. The George L. K. Morris, Percussion, raises considerably my estimate of this rather cautious designer. Artists are notoriously undependable in choosing from their own work, and understandably so: is it not like choosing from one's own children? But such choice has to be made, and in doing so Mr. Sweeney has admirably fulfilled one of the critic's chief functions.

As before, the word "younger" applies more to the reputation than to the age of the fifty-four painters represented. Nearly a quarter of them are past forty-five. On the other hand, not many more have been exhibited at the Museum of Modern Art, and only nine were represented at the Carnegie International in 1952. The current exhibition is not, therefore, a selection from past surveys but a vigorous new choice.

Theater

Harold Clurman

WE RARELY ask ourselves in the theater questions about the durability of any given work. The better plays are discussed for a season or two; very few are remembered beyond that. As for dramatic criticism, it expires much more quickly than the plays which are its subjects. It is used nowadays either as a kind of high-faluting gossip column or as a consumers' guide.

The more literate will occasionally remind us that dramatic criticism can endure. Aristotle's "Poetics" is dramatic criticism. Quotations from Lessing, Hazlitt, Lamb, Lewes, or Leigh Hunt sometimes appear in erudite essays. But this is hardly what we mean by dramatic criticism. We mean reviews such as appear in our dailies or weeklies. Can such writing be of any interest twenty-five years hence? Shaw's "Dramatic Opinions and Essays," reissued in England a few years ago as "Our Theatres in the Nineties," and Max Beerbohm's "Around Theatres," reissued this year in a one-volume edition, attest to the affirmative.

I read Beerbohm's dramatic criticism

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

Next Week in The Nation

The "Anti-Communist" Peril

by

Waldo Frank

Waldo Frank, one of the country's foremost novelists and cultural critics, has a limitless talent for provoking passion in his readers—whether it be admiration or the opposite. In this remarkable article on the pretensions of certain self-styled liberals he names names and calls names*—and offers his own formula for a revival of true American liberalism.

*Example: "... the norm among the anti-Communist intellectuals," writes Mr. Frank, "is a low level of submission, where poet becomes prostitute and 'reformed' radical becomes 'informer'."

for the first time only six years ago, although I had read Shaw's criticism, the best modern writing on the theater in the English language, almost constantly since I first encountered it in 1917. I was rather reluctant at first to read Beerbohm because his approach to the theater, I fancied, would be that of a dilettante. Indeed, Beerbohm's first piece in 1898 as the critic of the *Saturday Review* of London—his forerunner was G. B. S.—was entitled Why I Ought Not to Be a Dramatic Critic. When I finally got down to reading the pieces I was delighted with them. Rereading them today I find my pleasure undiminished.

WHAT explains the durability of these pieces? (The last one is dated April, 1910.) It is not enough to say they are exquisitely written and enchantingly witty. The important point is—they make *sense*.

I do not simply mean by this that they are "sound." Like all critics Beerbohm made his share of "mistakes." One of them he acknowledges repeatedly: he thought Shaw's "Man and Superman" read well but would not "play" on the stage. He did not care at all for Shaw's "Misalliance," referring to it as a series of debates. We know better! Beerbohm does not believe acting in a foreign language of which the audience is ignorant can afford any pleasure. Beerbohm need only have turned back to Shaw's piece on Duse and Bernhardt to learn how wrong he was. But then, Shaw's review of Wilde's "The Importance of Being Earnest" was in many respects wide of the mark.

What makes a critic valuable is not his conclusions so much as the texture of his thought and feeling. A critic, Beerbohm says, must be a great man. This is a startling way of suggesting that to have more than a momentary interest criticism must reveal a point of view, a temperament, a reaction to life and to art that may or may not be conveyed in doctrinal fashion, in which the reader can sense the substantiality of a total human personality. Within such a personality the critic's opinions, whether or not one agrees with them, form a living pattern and thus make sense. It is of little concern to me that Mr. X of this or that paper likes the play I do; I am chiefly interested in knowing the channels by which he arrives at his opinion. The critic's opinion is like a single trait in the composition of a portrait: we must see the relation to the whole. If the face portrayed is antipathetic, the cleverness of a single stroke is of little significance.

A special sort of dilettantism is the hallmark of Beerbohm's criticism. One might say that to be a dilettante was his determination and ambition. His elegance and dandyism are a precious creation to the preservation of which he devotes the utmost care and study. He cultivates his foppishness. Though fluent and relaxed, his style is full of artifice and studied effect. Though colloquial, it is at moments coquettishly archaic. It is nonchalant and learned. It appears formless but is most artfully composed.

Beerbohm's attitude is hedonistic without cheapness or depravity. His philosophy is essentially aesthetic; yet he understands the limitations of art. His nature is puckishly skeptical—he calls it satiric; yet he has firm beliefs and moral perceptions. He indicates rather than insists on them. His world is one of decorous reasonableness into which, in his heyday, it was still possible and permissible to make one's own handsome mode of retreat. It was a world of good manners and discreet ecstasies. It was a civilized world as understood by the quietly well-to-do and well-educated in England before the First World War.

No wonder such a man could title a review of Sarah Bernhardt as the hero of Shakespeare's greatest play "Hamlet, Princess of Denmark" and end it by saying, "The only compliment one can conscientiously pay her is that her Hamlet was, from first to last, *très grande dame.*" No wonder too that the violently impassioned naturalism of Gorky's "Lower Depths" shocked him to insult, and the inspired and volcanic crudeness of the Sicilian tragedian Grosso disgusted him. Even if we disagreed with these reactions many times more strongly than we do, should we not still admire him for his espousal of the original and his hilariously haughty scorn of the hackneyed, for such quips as "If our English mimes want to improve themselves, let them be born again, of French parents," and generally for justifying Shaw's introduction of him as "the incomparable Max"!

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

Records

B. H. Haggin

IN HIS book "Music-Makers" Roland Gelatt was in a flutter about the performance of Schubert's great Posthumous Sonata in B flat that Horowitz had allowed only his friends to hear. Mr. Gelatt felt it was something the public should not be deprived of; and Horowitz did in fact play the sonata at his Carnegie Hall recital of February 25, 1953. It was a recital celebrating the twenty-fifth anniversary of his first appearance in this country, which RCA Victor recorded complete with coughs, applause, and encores; and since an editor I know received the recording in a Christmas package from Victor, I was able to satisfy my interest in the performance of the Schubert sonata and can comment on it here.

The comment is that from the very first phrase one hears Horowitz operating in what apparently is the only way he can operate. That way is the excessively mannered affetuoso melodic style that incorporates the infinite gradations and varieties of tone he produces from the piano. The mannered style and the fussing with tone are facts; in addition I will mention an impression I get from those facts. When Schnabel played a phrase of melody I had the impression that his fingers were producing the sounds that realized his idea of the phrase; when Horowitz plays the phrase I have the impression that his fingers are using it to produce their gradations and varieties of tone, and that these are responsible for the affetuoso style rather than the other way around. This, I repeat, is only an impression—similar to the impression I get from Stokowski's conducting; and to accept it is to take the worst view of Horowitz's playing; but even if one limits oneself strictly to fact and believes that the affetuoso style is the way Horowitz thinks of melody and the fussing with tone is dictated by this way of thinking, then one is taking the best view of the playing, but it is hardly a good view.

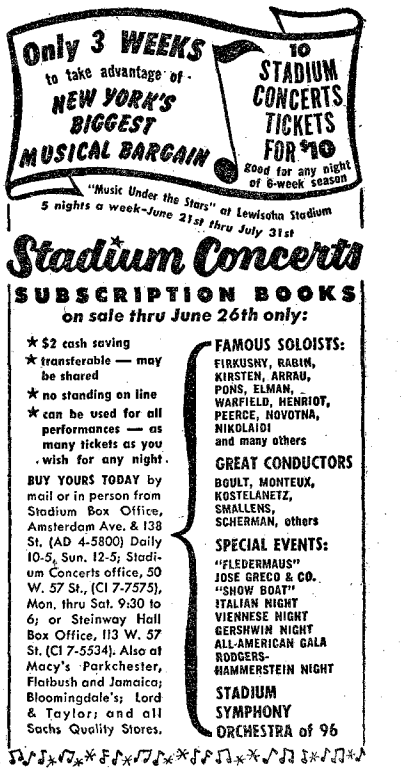
For Horowitz's way of playing a phrase of melody—any phrase of melody—the first phrase of Schubert's sonata—the phrases that follow—isn't a good way. It isn't a good way even for Chopin and some of the other composers Horowitz customarily plays; and it isn't a good way for the tranquilly sustained opening of Schubert's sonata; nor does it suit any better the expressive character of the sections that follow. The series of jaunty staccato B-naturals that Horowitz, concerned with varieties of tone, produces in place of the portato series indicated by the slur over the dots, at the bottom of page 4 (266) of the Lea original-text edition, and the sprightly legato he produces immediately afterward, are startlingly incongruous in the impassioned context; and they are only two of the many examples of the consequences of Horowitz's absorption in his fussing with tone and phrase-contour with no regard for the character and requirements of the music.

Schnabel's performance of this sonata has yet to be issued on LP; meanwhile there are performances by Clara Haskil (Epic) and Joerg Demus (Remington). Haskil begins well—with the tranquilly sustained playing the opening of the first movement calls for; but her playing becomes mannered in the later course of the movement; and she plays the second movement without power—in particular without the continuing tension and power that should be built up with the ostinato bass-figure when the first section returns. The scherzo she plays with the right grace; and the finale too comes out well. Demus maintains a consistent tranquilly sustained style not only in the first movement but throughout the work; and since it is a quietly sensitive rather than a strong style one is unprepared for the tension and power he creates in the second movement, especially with that ostinato bass-figure. On the other hand his playing in the scherzo, more straightforward than Haskil's, is less charming. And the fortissimos in the finale come off the record distorted.

Julius Katchen's sentimentalizing performances of Schumann's Etudes Symphoniques and Franck's Prelude, Chorale, and Fugue (London) are something to skip.

Hearing Stravinsky's Concerto for two solo pianos (1935) again, this time as played with sharpness and verve by Gold and Fizdale, I still like only the variation movement. With it on the Columbia record are Rieti's pleasant Suite champêtre (1948) and a Hindemith Sonato for piano four hands (1938).

Prokofiev's superb Piano Concerto No. 3 gets a performance by Uninsky with the Hague Philharmonic under van Otterloo (Epic) that has more intensity and verve than the excellent Katchen-Ansermet performance recently issued by London. As against the characteristic spatial depth of the recorded sound of the London performance, the sound of the Epic performance is shallow; but it has a brightness and luster which the London sound doesn't have, and which is necessary for the radiance and splendor of the conclusion of the work. The Epic record has also not especially distinguished performances of the "Classical Symphony" and Suite from "The Love for Three Oranges" that are poorly reproduced.


Only 3 WEEKS
to take advantage of
NEW YORK'S BIGGEST MUSICAL BARGAIN
10 STADIUM CONCERTS TICKETS FOR $10
Good for any night of 6-week season
"Music Under the Stars" at Lewisohn Stadium
5 nights a week—June 21st thru July 31st
Stadium Concerts
SUBSCRIPTION BOOKS
on sale thru June 26th only:
★ $2 cash saving
★ transferable — may be shared
★ no standing on line
★ can be used for all performances — as many tickets as you wish for any night.
BUY YOURS TODAY by mail or in person from Stadium Box Office, Amsterdam Ave. & 138 St. (AD 4-5800) Daily 10-5, Sun. 12-5; Stadium Concerts office, 50 W. 57 St., (CI 7-7575), Mon. thru Sat. 9:30 to 6; or Steinway Hall Box Office, 113 W. 57 St. (CI 7-5534). Also at Macy's Parkchester, Flatbush and Jamaica; Bloomingdale's; Lord & Taylor; and all Sachs Quality Stores.
FAMOUS SOLOISTS:
FIRKUSNY, RABIN, KIRSTEN, ARRAU, PONS, ELMAN, WARFIELD, HENRIOT, PEERCE, NOVOTNA, NIKOLAIDI and many others
GREAT CONDUCTORS
BOULT, MONTEUX, KOSTELANETZ, SMALLENS, SCHERMAN, others
SPECIAL EVENTS:
"FLEDERMAUS"
JOSE GRECO & CO.
"SHOW BOAT"
ITALIAN NIGHT
VIENNESE NIGHT
GERSHWIN NIGHT
ALL-AMERICAN GALA
RODGERS-HAMMERSTEIN NIGHT
STADIUM SYMPHONY ORCHESTRA of 96

BUY
UNITED STATES
SAVINGS BONDS

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

PUBLICATIONS

IMPORTED BOOKS AND PERIODICALS

JUST ARRIVED

PAVEL LUKNITSKY

NISSO

An absorbing novel about a freedom-loving Tajikistan mountain girl who escaped from slavery and took refuge in a Soviet settlement. Depicts a striking picture of life and customs in the Pamirs."

654 pages Price $1.50

• ● •

SOVIET LITERATURE

Published in English, French, German, Polish and Spanish.

Brings you novels, plays and stories by Soviet authors, critical essays and information on cultural life in the U. S. S. R. Average issue—approximately 200 pages

Annual Subscription $2.50
Single copies 25 cents

New shipment of latest Soviet Records
We ship records to all parts of the U. S., South America and Canada

1954 SUBSCRIPTIONS OPEN FOR ALL SOVIET NEWSPAPERS AND PERIODICALS

Ask for Complete Catalogue E-54

FOUR CONTINENT BOOK CORP.
55 West 56 St., N. Y. 19 GR 3-2018-19

BOOKS located. No charge for searching. DELTA BOOK SERVICE, 2856b Woodlawn Terrace, Memphis, Tenn.

LITERARY SERVICES

EDITORS, JOURNALISTS, FREELANCERS!—Fiction and non-fiction wanted for submission to top markets. Write for terms—TODAY! Mead Agency, 419 Fourth Avenue, New York 16, N. Y.

HANDWRITING ANALYSIS

SCIENTIFIC HANDWRITING analysis. Alfred Kanfer, 62 Leroy St., N. Y. C. Tel. WA 4-1575. Cooperating with doctors, psychologists, schools, firms, industries. Lessons by appointment, evenings. Marital, educational, vocational, psychological problems. Fee, $5.00.

AUDIO

HI FIDELITY
RADIO-PHONOGRAPH
sales, installation and service
VECTOR LABS
217 3rd Ave. • N. Y. C. 3 • GR 3-7686

TAPE RECORDERS. Unusual values in all different brands. Tape and all accessories. Write: Carstone, 215 East 88 Street, New York 28.

PERSONALS

WANTED: Congenial group of young-minded people who can enjoy a beautiful Lake Resort with all modern improvements and sports equipment for a period of at least three weeks. Special group rate for 10 or more. Box 376, c/o The Nation.

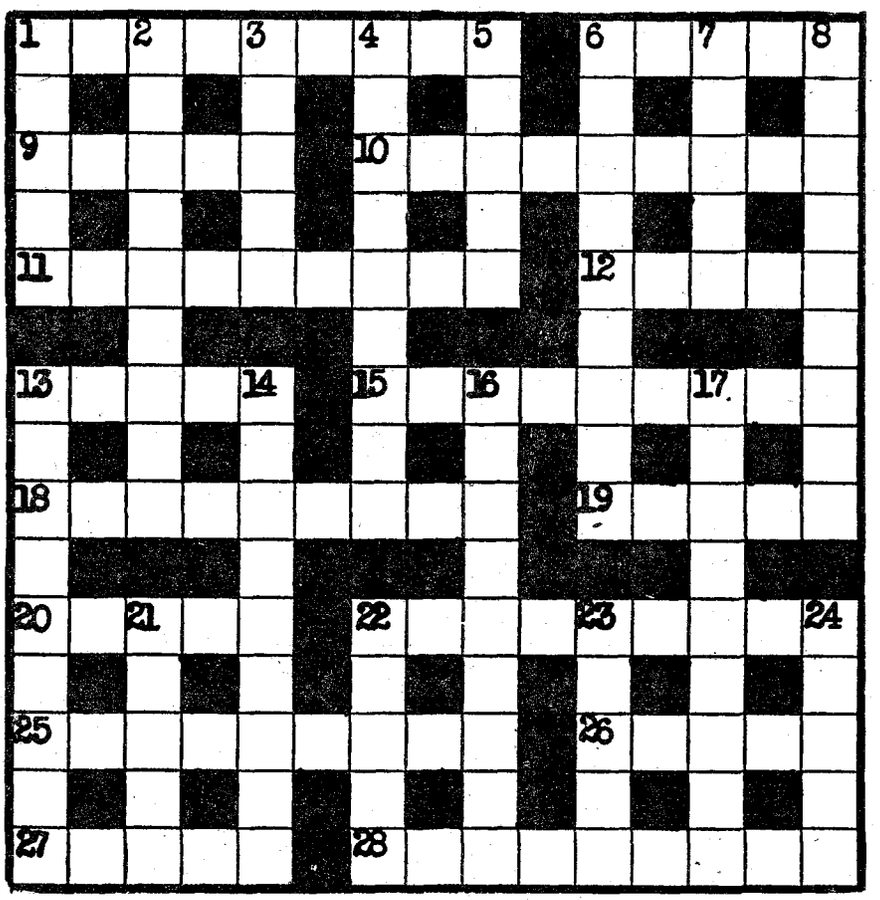
WANTED for union theatre: popular plays, fables, satires about famous events, modern times. Write The Compass, Box 7012, Chicago, Ill.

VACUUM CLEANER—Rated "Best." Regularly $78.50—SPECIAL $49.95. Standard Brand Dist., 143 Fourth Avenue (13th & 14th Sts.), N. Y. C. GR 3-7819. 1 hour free parking or 2 tokens for subway riders.

BUY
UNITED STATES
SAVINGS BONDS

Crossword Puzzle No. 571

BY FRANK W. LEWIS



ACROSS

1 The end of 11 with capital on deck. (9)
6 "The earth doth like a snake —— Her winter weeds outworn." (Shelley) (5)
9 Cut 10 without a favorite. (5)
10 With something over the wall? (9)
11 It's filled with strychnine. (3, 6)
12 See 20 across. (5)
13 μ (thus). (5)
15 Put a ball on in cowboy pants? Quite the contrary! (9)
18 The central city is not the one Cato thought should be. (9)
19 Not a teller, but first-rate. (5)
20 With 12 across kidnaps, and with 7 down necessitates a bank roll, as a reporter does. (5)
22 Would the English debt of several years ago be so heavy? (9)
25 It tells distance from an angle. (9)
26 Such a word is an occasional one. (5)
27 Twist-ed Bill? (5)
28 Admonition to the priests, equivalent to "pax vobiscum"? (4, 5)

DOWN

1 Such a bird could hardly be bare-headed, and extremely 1 across. (5)
2 An old theater man has a sort of spasm about more spasms. (9)
3 May sound like that which is 15 if you've lost the picture. (5)
4 A pacifier to his effort might be rather tricky. (9)
5 Roman emperor like a sort of avian quoter. (5)
6 Something stayed with such a person. (9)
7 See 20 across. (5)
8 All of us send up a light interval at this time. (9)
13 It's time dates changed? One thinks so. (9)
14 Scrooge learned how to keep it the hard way. (9)
16 Hens, told to fly away home? (9)
17 May have several bottoms, but at least one bark. (9)
21 Not exactly like Ollie's friend, he had help. (5)
22 Literally without a friend. (5)
23 The sort of rhyme which might suggest tintinnabulation to some. (5)
24 Casts off. (5)

SOLUTION TO PUZZLE NO. 570

ACROSS:—1 RESISTS; 5 DRESSED; 9 SUNBURN; 10 RETRIAL; 11 FREE-HAND DRAWING; 12 LEMURES; 13 STUDENT; 14 RELICTS; 17 PRIMERS; 20 IN COMPATIBILITY; 21 BRITONS; 22 SALERNO; 23 WINSTON; 24 SKYLARK.

DOWN:—1 RESTFUL; 2 SUNBEAM; 3 SOUTHERN COMFORT; 4 SONANTS; 5 DERIDES; 6 EXTRAJUDICIALLY; 7 SUICIDE; 8 DELIGHT; 14 RAINBOW; 15 LECTION; 16 STASSEN; 17 PRIESTS; 18 ERITREA; 19 SHYLOCK.

Readers are invited to send for a free copy of Mr. Lewis's "ground rules." Address requests to Puzzle Dept., The Nation, 333 Sixth Avenue, New York 14, New York.

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

RESORTS

Vacation With
The Nicest People Ever
ANNUAL JUNE ARTS FESTIVAL
DAILY CREATIVE
Artists and Guests
GET TOGETHERS
Free instruction in all
PAINTING • MUSIC • DANCE
ARTS & CRAFTS • SCULPTURE
THEATRE PERSONALITIES
Low One Rate Throughout
All Seasonal Sports
Square—Folk—Social Dancing
ask for full program
New York Office: WI 7-8926

A DELIGHTFUL HIDEAWAY IN THE MOUNTAINS
CHESTERS FOR ADULTS
Woodbourne, 46, N.Y. Tel Woodbourne 1150

50 Miles to FOREST HOUSE
Near enough for easy travel, far enough for an unforgettable vacation. Forest House achieves new levels of gay relaxation in inspiring surroundings. Superb food, fine accommodations, cordial hospitality. Two grand lakes. All sports.
FOREST HOUSE
Lake Mahopac, N. Y. • Tel. Mahopac 8-3449

For That Day—FOURTH OF JULY WEEKEND
or Summer in the country
CARAN LODGE
Sylvan Lake • Hopewell Junction • New York
60 Miles from New York on Taconic Parkway
Tennis, 10 minutes from James Baird Golf Course, Stream Swimming, Art Classes. Accommodate 10 families. Children's Day Camp 8 A. M. to 8 P. M. Night Patrol. Food . . . Superb, varied, abundant.
Drive up to see and admire murals in Children's Dining Room by famed artist Herb Kruckman.
RESERVE FOR SUMMER NOW
New York HI 6-7506 Hopewell Junction 6-2632

CARISBROOKE INN
The Adirondacks Schroon Lake, N. Y.
• Ideal for Family
• A Children's Paradise
• Outdoor Sports
• Moderate Rates
• Booklet on Request
C. A. & L. R. Hargreaves Telephone: 140 J 1

Stonegate LODGE
ON LONG LAKE, N. Y.
Informal Adult Resort in the Adirondacks
Charming Estate — Limited to 90 — Pollen Free
Folk-Square Dances — Concert Trio — Dance Band
All Sports • Fishing • Arts & Crafts
BACHELOR CLUB RATE — FINE FOOD
N. Y. Office: 250 W. 57th • Circle 6-6386
Red. Rates to July 10 Louis A. Roth, Dir.

REAL ESTATE

IDEAL SITE to build. Choice corner plot over ½ acre. Lake, Children's Camp, progressive community, 40 miles from N. Y. Rare value. SEdgwick 3-5276.

THE *Nation*
RESORT CLASSIFIED DISPLAY
$7.42 per inch, one insertion
Generous discounts for multiple insertions
• • •
Write or phone today for further information
ADVERTISING DEPARTMENT
The NATION
333 Sixth Ave., New York 14, N. Y.
CHelsea 2-8400

(Continued from inside front cover)

ders that one of that sect usually produces—namely, he arrives at no solution, and he employs vagueness as a "safety" shroud.

For instance, he says: "The only speech which is free is that which is allowed [!] to the despicable as well as to the upright." Now the word speech has many connotations, and true to the "liberal" mania, Mr. Moore allows us to choose which we will. This is the "scapegoat" method. It will allow the writer "freedom" while holding the reader "responsible," that is, free but not as free. Whatever concept we choose for the word "speech," it is not necessarily what Mr. Moore means, and thus he can always end up conclusionless, as he says, ". . . if a solution is attainable."

If I may play his game this once, and let *him* choose: "Tell me, Mr. Moore, are you averse to censorship of the propagation of Nazism in any form?"

Haverford, Pa. ROBERT C. STEPHANOS

Mr. Moore's Reply

Dear Sirs: Dr. Wertham's field, in which diagnosis of the problem lies, is psychology; with his diagnosis I agreed. Remedies lie in other fields, where Dr. Wertham is less eminent. Curtailments of freedom always promise great compensations; no one advocates censorship (or prohibition, or repeal of the Fifth Amendment) for anything but good—our own or the public good. Before acknowledging that cops and legislators are wiser than we—for neither psychiatrists nor reviewers make or enforce "regulations"—it seems proper to examine the remedy for dangers rather than accept it simply because it has been proposed. As for Mr. Stephanos's test question, if "in any form" means the advocacy of totalitarianism in spoken or written words, my answer is unequivocally that I am opposed to such censorship. If he means propaganda by storm-troopers and lynching, naturally I advocate its disruption.

Monterey, Calif. WARD MOORE

LECTURE

✱ Fri., June 18—8:30 ✱
YORKVILLE COMPASS FORUM
DR. W. E. B. DU BOIS
COLONIALISM IN ASIA & AFRICA
What's Happening—and Why
Editor JOHN T. McMANUS, Hon. Ch'man
Questions ✱ Iced Drinks
YORKVILLE TEMPLE, 157 E. 86 St.
Contrib: 85¢

MEETING

"WHAT PRICE INTEGRITY?"
The Effect of McCarthyism in Politics-Science-Religion
CAREY McWILLIAMS (Ed. Dir. The Nation)
RABBI JACOB WEINSTEIN (K. A. M. Temple)
PROF. JAMES R. ARNOLD (Inst. Nuclear Physics)
Date: Friday, June 18, 8:15 P. M.
Place: St. James Methodist Church
4611 South Ellis Ave., Chicago, Ill.
Auspices: Chicago Committee for Academic and Professional Freedom
Admission Free

RESORTS

Chalts
ACCORD, NEW YORK
31st SEASON
as a Parent-Child Resort
An intimate resort with "BIG" Hotel facilities
160 beautiful acres * Tennis * Swimming * Golf nearby * Arts & Crafts * Complete Day Camp (8 a. m. to 8 p. m.) * Professional Director * Kind'gar'ner * Nite patrol * Trained counsellors * Folk & Square Dancing.
Full Program Starts July 2
LOW JUNE RATES
Adults $35 • Children $25
N. Y. C. Office OL 4-4070 or Kerhonkson 3758

WINDY HILL
ON ORANGE LAKE
A pleasantly informal vacation in friendly atmosphere. Swimming, Boating, Fishing on Natural Lake. Badminton, Volley Ball, Ping-pong, other sports. Movies, records, books. Summer Theatre nearby. Food of excellent quality in generous quantity.
Pre-Season $45.00 Weekly; $7.00 Daily
Season and Holidays $50.00 Weekly; $7.50 Daily
65 *Miles from New York City*
Jane C. Arenz R. D. No. 1 Walden, N. Y.
Phone Newburgh 115 W 2

THE LUXURY LODGE FOR ADULTS
Hathaway Lodge
Formerly the palatial 592-acre Macy estate "In the Hills of the Sky." Luxurious rooms, many with open fireplaces. Magnificent mountain trails for hiking. Beautiful swimming pool. Tennis and handball courts. Library, recordings, informal dancing. Superb American-Jewish cooking. Reasonable rates. For reservation or booklet write:
HATHAWAY LODGE
Haines Falls, N. Y. • Phone Tannersville 299

CRYSTAL LAKE only 5 hours to heaven
IN THE ADIRONDACKS
all deluxe accommodations at
LOW JUNE RATES
Folk & Squares with Cliff Bullard
9 championship clay tennis courts, handball, fishing, riding, all water sports on private Crystal Lake. 1500 Woodland acres.
FREE weekend to tennis tournament winners.
CRYSTAL LAKE LODGE
CHESTERTOWN 5, NEW YORK
Phone 3830 N. Y. Phone: TU 2-0477

Echo Lake Lodge
in the Green Mts. Brandon, Vermont
A delightful Adult Vacation Resort
• On lovely Echo Lake—all water sports
• New canoes, boats, swim and fish
• Tennis, ping-pong, shuffleboard
• Music, square dancing, camp-fires
Diana & Abe Berman Hubbardton 17-2

...CAMP UNITY...
FAMOUS INTER-RACIAL RESORT
GRAND OPENING JUNE 25, 1954
(Open informally during June)
EXCITING CHANGES THIS SEASON!
NEW CASINO DELUXE BUNGALOWS
Vacation with greater comfort is Unity's theme for '54.
Day Camp under expert supervision.
Outstanding Cultural staff headed by **Margaret McCaden**—cultural director
Alice Childress of "Candy Story"—famed dramatic director
Arthur Atkins—well known choral director from the West Coast
Guy Carawan—popular folk singer and guitarist
Dancing to **Edna Smith's** Unity band nitely
SPECIAL WEEK-END GROUP RATES
NO TIPPING
For information and reservations call
AL 5-6960-1 • 1Union Square W. • Room 610
Office open daily 10 a.m.–6 p.m. Sat: 10–6 p.m.

Printed in the U. S. A. by STEINBERG PRESS, INC., Morgan & Johnson Aves., Brooklyn 6, N. Y.

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

THE *Nation's* CHOICE

NUMBER 4

JUST WHERE does man think he's going? For most of us, life is too pressing to take the time out to think about such matters. That's why The Nation's Choice editors seized so eagerly, for their No. 4 selections, on the current works of Joseph Wood Krutch and David Cort. Here are a pair of tough-minded gentlemen who *have* seen the need and *have* taken the time to assess a fundamental problem: man and his place in a world growing increasingly mechanistic. What are their answers? Whether you agree or disagree with their answers you'll find both books provocative and stimulating.

Mr. Krutch, an editor of The Nation for many years, and now a frequent contributor, has been one of the first-rank American men-of-letters for more than a quarter of a century. One of his earlier books, The Modern Temper, has already become a contemporary classic. Mr. Cort, for many years foreign editor of *Life*, is one of those brilliant writers who makes a friend—or an enemy—with each sentence he pens.

FIRST BONUS BOOK

A TREASURY OF INTIMATE BIOGRAPHIES

Edited by

Louis L. Snyder

This $5.00 Book FREE to all Nation subscribers who purchase four selections through The Nation's Choice.

OUR first BONUS BOOK is "A Treasury of Intimate Biographies" edited by Louis L. Snyder—a $5.00 book which will be sent free to those who qualify.

Here are dramatic stories from the lives of 45 great men by those who knew them well. Here is reporting in the grand tradition: Xenophon on Socrates, Boswell on Johnson, Johnson on Pope, John Forster on Dickens, William Allen White on Woodrow Wilson, Trotsky on Stalin, Sherwood on Roosevelt and Churchill, Sheean on Gandhi. Here is a treasury surely to be treasured, a book to read and re-read for its warm, human sidelights on the more than twoscore men who made world history—each in a distinctive way.

This BONUS BOOK is another reason why you should fill out the coupon below, order the current selections and the past selection still available. The moment your account shows that you have ordered four Nation's Choice selections, your copy of "A Treasury of Intimate Biographies" will be on its way to you—FREE!

THE MEASURE OF MAN

by Joseph Wood Krutch

"Telling strictures against the stupidities of a widely prevalent deterministic orthodoxy in modern culture."
Reinhold Niebuhr in the New York Times.

"A valuable and heartening document . . . an acute and comprehending mind expressing itself with beautiful clarity."
St. Louis Post-Dispatch.

"A (publication) of intellectual and social importance."
Louisville Courier-Journal.

"Mr. Krutch says of his book: "Modern thought has imprisoned man in a cage whose bars are materialism, mechanism and determinism. This book . . . attempts to meet head-on the whole dismal complex of arguments and theories which attempt to prove that man is a machine and must be only what circumstances make him. It says 'no' to those who would persuade us that we are less than we are."

THE BIG PICTURE

by David Cort

"The publishers do not exaggerate when they call this a 'highly original' book about man and his place in the universe. It is all that and more. It is also a brilliant, exhibitionistic, sparkling, irritating, erudite and stimulating look at homo sapiens by one of the brightest young pundits to heave into sight in years."
John Barkham in the Saturday Review Syndicate.

"It would be hard to think of any topic altogether omitted from this portrait of man at grips with his public enemy number one —the universe . . . this hurried man's Toynbee (is) a veritable feast of reason."
Newsweek.

"Mr. Cort analyzes love, marriage, the psychology of corporation hierarchy, the emotions of prehistoric man and many other topics that swarm into his fertile mind. Even the specialist must admit that what Mr. Cort 'really knows' is very much worth knowing."
E. B. Garside in the New York Times.

THE NATION'S CHOICE • 333 SIXTH AVENUE • NEW YORK 14

☐ Please send me The Nation's Choice Number 4 at a total cost of $4.75 (plus 24 cents for postage and handling).

I would like to order the following previous selection:

☐ Nation's Choice Number 3 (Franklin D. Roosevelt, Vols. 1 and 2, by Frank Freidel) at a total cost of $7.00 (plus 24 cents for postage and handling).

☐ I am a Nation subscriber. ☐ I want to subscribe now.

☐ ONE YEAR $7 ☐ TWO YEARS $12 ☐ THREE YEARS $17

☐ All payments enclosed. ☐ Bill me.

NAME_____

ADDRESS_____

CITY_____ ZONE____ STATE_____

6/12/54

HERE AGAIN is another example of the amazing values in good reading which subscribers are receiving through The Nation's Choice.

REGULAR PRICE (both books) $7.00

NATION'S CHOICE PRICE (both books) 4.75

YOU SAVE $2.25

To get these books quickly, just fill out the coupon at the left. You can pay for the books now—or, if you wish, we'll be happy to bill you later.

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED